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Library Trends

Publishing in the Third World

PHILIP G. ALTBACH
and
KEITH SMITH
Issue Editors

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Library Trends

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Introduction

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THIS ISSUE IS DEVOTED to a broad and somewhat diffuse topic — publishing in the Third World. The articles are united by a concern for book production and distribution in the Third World rather than by uniformity of views, common disciplinary backgrounds, or similar geographical focus. Some of the essays deal with specific Third World countries or regions, while others concern broad issues such as scholarly publishing and the internationalization of publishing. Two papers examine publishing in Canada and the USSR which are particularly germane to the Third World. The authors include librarians, practicing publishers, and academics from a variety of disciplines. We, as editors of this issue, are convinced that the topic is one not only of analytic interest but of practical importance. In editing this issue, we again found how little research has been done on this topic. The study of publishing is not yet accepted as a genuine field of academic interest alongside studies of other media such as broadcasting and films. We are, therefore, especially indebted to our contributors, who in some cases have had to generate original data for their analyses. We can state, without fear of contradiction, that this issue is one of the very few collections of materials focused especially on publishing in the Third World.

There is no question that the printed word remains a key to knowledge, communications, and in the case of the Third World, sometimes to the creation of a sense of history and nationhood. While other media such as film and television have had an impact throughout the world, their importance is perhaps less in the Third World, and books and jour-

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nals therefore hold greater sway. Despite low (but increasing) rates of literacy, books play a key role in providing training and skills needed for modern technology and education.

This is, to some extent, a period in which books, libraries and the other accoutrements associated with formal education and established culture are under attack. It is our conviction that there is no shortcut to education and that regardless of the means used to educate people in any nation, books will play a key role not only for purposes of basic literacy, but also at the higher levels of technology and culture. The current lack of emphasis on publishing, library resources, and other book-related institutions seems to be an error.

Despite the diversity of approaches and geographical foci evident in this issue, there are some common themes which are discernible. Among these are the following:

1. Third World nations have only recently developed the "infrastructures" of publishing, such as adequate printing facilities, supplies of paper, editorial expertise, and the like. A first phase of publishing development has been achieved in many countries.
2. Book distribution remains a serious problem, especially in rural areas, and this has inhibited the establishment of a strong indigenous publishing industry in many countries.
3. There is relatively little regional cooperation or book trading among Third World nations.
4. Language remains a key problem. The emergence of publishing in indigenous Third World languages has often been painfully slow.
5. Various problems of cultural and intellectual dependency remain critical to Third World nations. The impact of multinational publishers headquartered in the industrialized nations, the role of foreign aid programs, and the general domination of the world's book production by the great publishing nations of the United States, Britain, France and, to some extent, the Soviet Union all greatly affect publishing in the Third World.
6. Relatively little attention has been given to books by Third World governments. Publishing has been neglected and libraries have received only limited attention.
7. Publishing is a multifarious enterprise and it is difficult to generalize about it. The problems of children's books are different from those of schoolbooks which are, in turn, quite different from those of scholarly publishing. In addition, national differences among Third World nations are substantial.

The Third World has much to learn from the industrialized countries in that the nations of Europe, North America and Japan have already developed publishing enterprises of considerable complexity and sophistication. It is even possible to see that some industrialized nations, such as Canada, share some problems in common with Third World nations. Yet, key differences remain and it would be a mistake for Third World nations to copy the industrialized nations blindly. In all too many cases, the impact of multinational publishers, foreign aid agencies, and the natural tendency to copy successful models have simply reproduced metropolitan practices in the Third World. New concepts must be developed if the needs of the Third World are to be met effectively.

This innovative development is as likely to appear in the activities of publishers as in the articles of academics. Yet the study of publishing has functions to fulfill in providing an analysis of the workings of publishing industries, in examining their impact on societies, and in determining the factors that foster dynamic publishing with a social orientation. It is ironic that the medium most used by academics is the least studied. The energy that is released into critiques of Western domination of the press, film distributors and television networks should have its counterpart in an examination of the power and influence of multinational publishers.

Book publishers have preserved a gentle mystique of public-minded and authoritative midwifery. Enough has now been written by commentators such as Lewis A. Coser, Michael Lane, the editors of this issue and others to show the shallowness of a recent statement by the chairman of a multinational. On being asked to write an article analyzing what factors determined which manuscripts are published and which are not, he replied that he could do that in one sentence: "I publish what will sell and what I like."

Research on book publishing has far to go before it catches up with knowledge of other media. It must not be sidetracked by the many fascinating anecdotal memoirs of distinguished publishers. It must look at the substantial interrelationship between publishing and society. Work should start on an evaluation of the impact of book-aid schemes on the development of local publishing capacity. The articles in this issue either provide background or make a start on the analysis. We hope that these perspectives will stimulate further research and attention to the problems of publishing in the Third World.

The issue editors would like to thank for their help, encouragement and forebearance: Jean Smith, Catherine Chatel, Nina Cullum and their colleagues at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.

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The International Media and the Political Economy of Publishing

PETER GOLDING

FOR MOST PEOPLE the term *mass media* conjures up an image of the popular press or broadcasting, and occasionally, for those with long memories, the cinema. Rarely does it include that strangely neglected industry, book publishing. Yet publishing is the oldest form of mass communication, and although it has in many instances remained a small-scale, almost cottage industry, the economics of twentieth-century communications have pushed publishing along most of the paths followed by the larger media. Despite this, most analysis of the publishing industry remains sublimely unaware of these parallel developments and of their implications for publishing itself.

Discussions of mass communications rarely spend much time on the apparently peripheral trade in books. Oddly, researchers in academic media studies have largely ignored the medium right under their scholarly noses. These twin gaps — in discussions of publishing and in media studies — are important because they have prevented the analysis of two important developments which in themselves make nonsense of any analytic separation of publishing from the other media. First, diversification among media enterprises has enveloped a large part of the publishing industry, so that it has increasingly become part of the growing media conglomerates. To understand the behavior of publishers it thus becomes vital to understand the changing economics of all media sectors. Second, the internationalization of media industries has often been led by publishing; it was the earliest medium to develop an export trade and still is in many ways the most international medium. The expansion of capital and dis-

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tribution facilities which this entailed has further increased the interdependence of publishing and other media industries.

This article will first show how these parallel developments arose, then consider the place of publishing in the international media markets, and finally suggest some of the implications of these developments for publishing and cultural change in underdeveloped countries.

PUBLISHING AND THE RISE OF THE MEDIA INDUSTRIES

All media go through a roughly similar historical cycle. Initially, small-scale individual entrepreneurs serve a small, perhaps personal market. They perform the many functions of producer, distributor and seller themselves. Only gradually do these roles become specialized as the trade begins to extend. In England, for example, publishing and bookselling slowly emerged as distinct enterprises with the growth of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century book trade. In most media, technological developments — the mechanical press, stereotyping, machine-made paper, for example — facilitate an increase in the scale of operations and the induction into the industry of capital to finance this growth. This first part of the historical cycle creates the fully differentiated industry which, in English book publishing, was well established by the mid-nineteenth century.[1]

The second period of the cycle is one of concentration. As the financial scale of the industry increases, the growing capital base becomes too vast for all but the larger firms, who begin to benefit from economies of scale. At the same time the separate functions of production, distribution and selling start to reintegrate under the umbrella of these larger firms. This process of vertical integration among firms concerned with different stages in the production process is complemented by horizontal integration among independent firms in the same stage, with all the savings of duplicated resources and extended market control this implies. These processes are accelerated by rising costs and pressures on revenue, often due to competition from other media or alternative leisure pursuits.

Of course, the details and chronology vary from industry to industry, but whatever its idiosyncracies, publishing is no exception to the general sequence. The development of integration has been comparatively recent, dating perhaps from the early postwar period when firms like Collins and Longman Green went public.[2] The rapid expansion of the market at that time left many firms unable to finance the necessary growth, and inevitably they were gobbled up into groups. Associated Book Publishers, comprising imprints like Eyre Methuen, Tavistock, Chapman and Hall, Sweet and

Maxwell, and so on, is a good example of such a chain. Of course, there remain many hundreds of small independent publishers, but the bulk of the trade is concentrated into the hands of these larger combines.[3] The traditional gentlemanly scholarship of earlier publishing days retains its stamp on much of the industry's dealings and relationships. However, it is an ethos increasingly being replaced by the realistic accountancy expressed by the chairman of Associated Book Publishers in 1976: "Our publishing program for 1975 was therefore carefully reappraised and we decided to concentrate on those areas and projects likely to be productive of the highest return and cash generation. Unhappily we were forced to cancel certain commitments."[4] As in the other media, the realities of day-to-day economics have come to challenge broader artistic or creative objectives.

The most significant development in this most recent stage of publishing history is what is known as the paperback revolution. Relying on large sales, extensive promotion, large stocks and warehouse facilities, and thus considerable capital support, paperback publishing has changed the economic character of publishing as drastically as the so-called Northcliffe revolution (i.e. the switch to advertising-based, low-priced newspapers) changed the British press. Neither change was so abrupt as to be revolutionary; both left their industry ready for the introduction of high finance and diversification.

Diversification has, initially at least, been the development of paperback publishing by large firms in other media sectors. Three British examples illustrate this. Granada, the group having the franchise for commercial television in the densely populated northwest area, now owns major paperback imprints like Panther, Paladin and Mayflower. The group is also involved in television rental (its main source of income), cinema exhibition, motorway services, and so on. The Thomson organization, best known as publishers of Times Newspapers, also controls Sphere Books, as well as several hardback imprints, and is extensively involved in television, travel and other activities. Penguin Books, the market leader, is owned by Pearson Longman, controller of the big educational publishing house of Longman, as well as the Financial Times, several strings of regional papers, and other specialized magazines and book companies. By the end of the 1960s it was estimated that five imprints accounted for about 70 percent of all paperbacks sold in the United Kingdom.[5] Increasingly, best-selling titles reflect the growing integration of books with television, cinema and records.

The second aspect of diversification in publishing, which will lead to

discussion of its international ramifications, is the rapid growth of institutional education and its unquenchable need for software of both traditional and newer, audiovisual kinds. The integration of publishing with electronics has gone further in the United States than in the United Kingdom, and it represents an extension of diversification beyond the media and into other industrial sectors. McGraw-Hill, the commanding giant of international educational publishing, like so many other large companies, has deeply penetrated the market for video cassettes and other educational equipment. In recent years McGraw-Hill has acquired Educational Development Laboratories, University Films, and Pathe Contemporary Films.[6] Other major electronics or communications firms have extended their grip over this new field. CBS, the world's largest advertising medium by virtue of its U.S. television network, and also the world's largest producer and marketer of recorded music, has a publishing division which includes Holt, Rinehart & Winston, a major educational publisher. The division has rapidly developed audiovisual materials, "learning kits," and what is called a Comprehensive Skills Laboratory. These all-inclusive packages combine the technology of electronics manufacturing with the educational acumen of traditional publishing in a marketing procedure which only such a large combine can command and finance.

Mattelart, in summarizing this development, notes that the diversification of hardware industries into software has resulted in the inclusion among the world's ten largest producers of educational materials of such names as Xerox, CBS, ITT, Westinghouse, and Litton, all colossi of electronics manufacturing.[7] Since publishing in the Third World is almost entirely educational, such diversification is of the utmost significance for developing countries.

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF PUBLISHING

All mass media have become international. Television programs flow ceaselessly from their manufacturers in Europe and North America to customers all over the world, who are themselves unable to meet the vast cost that production of comparable material entails. Imbalances in the flow of news through the international news agencies have dominated recent discussions in Unesco and other gatherings concerned about the international diffusion of culture. Such flows are more possible in some media than in others. Newspapers, having rapid perishability and high parochiality, travel least. Publishing has long been an international medium, its export trade a phenomenon even before television was widely established.

Exports have indeed become vital to the book trade. Up to one-third of total receipts to U.K. publishers were coming from exports as early as 1937, and despite a slight decline in the 1940s, the figure has remained high ever since. In 1975 exports were worth £133 million (including exports by booksellers), 39.7 percent of total sales.[8] For many larger companies the proportion is much higher, and they have come to rely on the certainty of this expanding market to cushion the uncertainties of domestic sales.

As with other media, the most lucrative export markets are in other industrialized countries, particularly the United States and the "old" Commonwealth. The most reliable export markets, however, are the English-speaking former colonies in the Third World. This is because this market is almost entirely grounded in the educational industry, with its firmly established ties with educational institutions of the former imperial power. Because students were required to pass examinations sanctioned in London or Oxbridge, textbooks by local authors or including local material were rarely required. Students diligently worked for their Cambridge School Certificate, or College of Preceptors or University of London matriculation. The situation has changed very little: "Unfortunately, at the present time the pupil in Lesotho and Malawi is condemned to using a textbook which assumes most of its readers to be familiar not only with the game of Battleships, but with many other British institutions and pastimes."[9]

For many countries, imports provide the bulk of books available. The scale of imports into Africa is indicated in Table 1.

The U.S. book export industry has been rapidly expanding in recent years, totaling nearly $243 million in 1974. Again the major markets are in Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia. Exports from both the United Kingdom and the United States include a very high proportion

Country	*Year*	*Imports (U.S. $)*	*Main Sources*
Sierra Leone	1972	283,000	UK, 91%
Liberia	1972	418,000	USA, 53%; UK, 22%
Nigeria	1972	13,471,000	UK, 67%
Tanzania	1973	1,264,000	UK, 55%; Sweden, 23%
Uganda	1973	731,000	UK, 55%; USA, 14%
Kenya	1973	3,975,000	UK, 80%
Ethiopia	1973	892,000	UK, 27%; Italy, 17%

Table 1. Total imports of books and pamphlets in some African countries

Source: Economic Commission for Africa. *Foreign Trade Statistics for Africa, Series B, Trade by Commodity* (No. 26). New York, United Nations, 1975.

of educational and scientific material. School texts accounted for 19 percent of U.K. book exports in 1975, while technical and scientific texts accounted for a further 26 percent. U.S. book exports in 1974 included 22 percent in the category of textbooks, etc., and 17 percent classified as technical, scientific and professional, while encyclopedias and dictionaries added a further 16 percent.[10] Educational publishing, like paperbacks, relies on large print runs and long back lists for its profits. In educational publishing much of the profit comes from reprints, and the steady syllabus text is the most certain investment. All these factors, of course, require secure and substantial capital on a scale beyond the means of small indigenous publishers.

Exports, however, tell only one part of the story. Increasingly, profits from overseas sales are derived from the sales of local subsidiaries, so that the proportion of total profits from sales overseas is a more realistic index of internationalization than exports alone. British companies dominate educational publishing in Asia and Africa, yet direct sales to these countries actually declined in the early 1970s, with sales by local subsidiaries taking their place. William Collins, for example, Britain's largest traditional commercial publisher, derived 20.5 percent (£8.7 million) of their turnover from exports in 1975, but total group sales overseas accounted for 57 percent (£24.3 million) of all sales. By the 1970s over two-thirds of Oxford University Press's turnover in Nigeria was comprised of books produced in Nigeria.[11]

Major educational publishers like Longman and Oxford University Press (OUP) have long recognized the advantages of this procedure. These two, together with Nelson, Macmillan, and Evans Brothers, fostered an explosion in educational publishing in Africa in the 1950s.[12] OUP set up a branch in Nairobi in 1963, and has been in Ibadan since 1949, although OUP's activities in Nigeria stretch back a half-century. Longman, with a staff of 100 in Nigeria alone, has enormous African interests. Concentrating on school texts and support materials, Longman has branches in Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Malawi, Uganda, Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as Nigeria. Further subsidiaries operate in Hong Kong, Trinidad and Malaysia. This pattern has become typical. Smith has stated, "During the 1960s and 1970s six British firms, Evans Brothers, Heinemann Educational Books, Longman, Nelson, Oxford University Press, and Macmillan and Co., have continued to keep a hold on the [Anglophone African] market by increased localization."[13]

With other parts of the world in mind, the former chairman of

America's McGraw-Hill has written of this change to direct local sales in glowing terms:

> For McGraw-Hill it will end, I suppose, in the optimum situation — a situation in which we shall have a dual purpose company in every major country or market area of the world, and in which direct exports from New York to open markets will be a thing of the past. This is, I think, the ideal and ultimate concept, with multi-national publishing and international selling combined in one worldwide complex. Frankly, we in McGraw-Hill have come to think of the world as being our oyster.[14]

By the standards of multinational corporations in other sectors, these are not, as yet, gigantic operations. They do, however, represent a further stage in the expansion of international publishing. The American combines again represent the furthest development of this multinational expansion. CBS, to return to an earlier example, owns W.B. Saunders, the world's largest publisher in the health sciences, and the group's publishing arm in Latin America, NEISA, is the world's largest publisher of Spanish-language medical books. RCA, owner of another major U.S. television network, NBC, as well as such diverse enterprises as Hertz car rentals, also controls publishing houses like Random House, Pantheon Books, Vintage, Ballantine Books, and Grove Press. Electronics corporations are increasingly well placed to absorb newer educational industries, reflecting the demand that "publishers should diversify into the areas of *non-book* publishing which will match up with the market demand induced by technological development."[15] Educationalists in developing countries are turning increasingly to newer media, e.g., satellites, closed circuit television, radio, audiovisual packages, to augment limited supplies of more traditional resources, and in an attempt to accelerate educational progress. The concomitant rise in the capital scale of operations has left the field open to only the bigger, multimedia, multinational enterprises.

This has not been unique to the United States and the United Kingdom. The French publishing house Hachette, with extensive holdings in newspaper chains and smaller publishers, has been active in international publishing for over sixty years, mainly in French colonies and former colonies. Its earliest international ventures were, however, as widespread as Argentina, Egypt and Turkey,[16] and it has recently moved to a policy of publishing in English and Spanish, which has given it entry into educational publishing in Latin America, and joint exploitation of audio-

visual markets with the American group, Vision Inc. Axel Springer (Germany), Bertelsmann (Germany), and VNU (Holland) are other typical representatives of the expansion of European multinational publishing. FIAT, the Italian automobile manufacturer, owns several Italian publishers, as well as a wide range of telecommunications manufacturing; in 1974 it acquired the American Bantam Books from a big American insurance company, National General Corporation.[17]

In general, then, the growth of international publishing has been characterized in large part by the diversification of multinational publishers into newer media, or the consolidation of publishing into existing multinational firms concerned principally with electronics, educational technology or entertainment.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLISHING IN THE THIRD WORLD

As publishing has become an international industry, dominated by large corporations with vast resources, publishers in less industrialized countries have been forced to fight against worsening odds to establish local autonomous industries. The economies of scale are large in publishing and printing, whether achieved by a larger number of titles or bigger print runs.[18] By spreading costs over time, and over a range of activities and outlets, the larger organization can dominate a market and effectively prevent entry by smaller competitors. William Mitchell, former editorial manager for OUP in Nigeria, has spelled out these advantages:

> The non-indigenous publishers in Nigeria have generally been more heavily capitalized than their indigenous colleagues. This may be because publishing, with the relatively slow and "difficult" returns on capital which it offers, has been less attractive to indigenous capital than other forms of entrepreneurship. Whatever the case, the willingness and capacity to deploy large sums of capital has been a central factor behind the dominance of non-indigenous publishers in Nigerian educational book markets.[19]

The wait for returns on capital may be longer than a small publisher can afford, unable as he is to fall back on other or larger activities for support.[20] One obvious source of cost-spreading is the production by multinationals of titles intended for several markets. Marketing international editions of reference books produced in the home country on a large scale is a good example of this.

A second factor giving a competitive edge to the nonindigenous publisher is the variety of subsidies which effectively cut the price of imported

books. Most overtly this takes the form of government support for commercial publishers in mutually beneficial campaigns to win the hearts and minds of educationalists and their charges in target countries. The United States Information Agency (USIA) assisted publishers in producing 143 million copies of over 16,000 editions between 1950 and 1968.[21] The agency often contributes up to 80 percent of the cost of production, and by 1969 its donated books program involved 3 million volumes per year. USIA activities are buttressed by a variety of other agencies — notably the Agency for International Development (AID) — in promoting the sale of American books abroad to the mutual benefit of publishers and government. Motivations vary, needless to say, from the most cynical political and economic exploitation to an occasional and sincere, if naïve, philanthropy. The total effect is the stultification of indigenous publishing.[22]

Since American books are often expensive, a variety of methods are required to keep prices down in newer markets. Arrangements with local distributors for regional distribution contracts or simple reprint arrangements in return for royalty on sales serve this function; both are methods extensively used by McGraw-Hill in Asia.[23] Once again, the parallel with other media is notable. Television programs are similarly sold at artificially low prices in Third World countries, the costs and initial profits having been secured in the major markets in industrialized countries. They thus become too cheap to refuse, replace local production, and create a steady and expanding demand.[24]

A third obstacle for local publishers is the difficulty they face in attracting authors. Writers naturally seek wide sales, which only the distribution networks of the multinationals can offer them. The prestige of publication by a famous established house in London, Paris or New York is a powerful lure away from the limited — if righteous — satisfaction to be gained from patriotic or political support for a local publisher. Writers, particularly academics and teachers, are likely to be securely entwined in the cosmopolitan culture of international education, and will be fully alive to the benefits of publishing their works with a large multinational.[25] Even indigenous university presses are caught in this trap: "The local university presses seldom get a manuscript that has not been rejected by at least one overseas publisher."[26] International publishers will also be able to offer larger advance payments and probably higher sales.

A solution to the problem of insufficient capital has been sought in some countries by involving the state in publishing. Again the parallel with broadcasting is instructive. In many developing countries the state

is the only indigenous institution able and willing to finance broadcasting. Almost invariably, help, both financial and technical, has been sought from overseas institutions, notably the BBC, ORTF, or the larger commercial stations. Broadcasting is thus established in a form evolved in another culture, and on a scale placing it irretrievably in the world market for broadcasting programs and technology.[27]

Similarly in publishing, state publishing establishments have very often relied on British or American commercial publishing expertise. The most familiar example is that of anglophone Africa. Macmillan and Co. organized arrangements with governments in Ghana, Uganda, Zambia, Tanzania and Nigeria during the 1960s, which eventually became state publishing houses.[28] As in broadcasting, the legacy of this initial coupling is often a permanent relationship. As Nottingham puts it, "Outside interests get much of their profits from producing the material concerned outside Africa and selling it to these [state] publishing houses which become mere merchandising depots."[29] The equivalent of these arrangements is found in countries where state education becomes a client of one or two major multinational publishers. Mattelart notes the example of Brazil, where "in 1967 an agreement concluded between the Ministry for Education of Brazil, the National Association of Librarians and the omnipresent USAID, made the texts published by McGraw-Hill obligatory at all levels of Brazilian teaching."[30]

Successful attempts at setting up genuinely autonomous indigenous publishing houses have obviously been made. One prominent example, which illustrated many of the problems, was the East African Publishing House (EAPH) in Nairobi. EAPH was founded in 1965 under the aegis of the U.K. publisher Andre Deutsch with financial support from an American foundation, sufficient local capital having been difficult to raise. Despite its comparative success, EAPH was unable to find its way into world markets without making arrangements with Heinemann Educational Books, the educational wing of the Heinemann Group (itself owned by the giant U.K.-based Thomas Tilling Ltd., a group controlling companies in builders' merchanting, construction materials, electrical wholesaling, engineering, furniture, insurance, etc.). Heinemann had become well established in African publishing since the opening of their African Writers Series in 1962, an ironic comment on the oft-expressed hope that creative writing would be an expanding source for the establishment of indigenous publishing.

The problems of a house like EAPH show a further parallel with other media. Media professionals come to depend on skills, styles of work,

routines and equipment developed in Europe or North America. Good practice and excellence are calibrated against criteria developed overseas, and very often instilled in periods of training and professional socialization. The result is that impossible and often irrelevant demands are made of media in underdeveloped societies.[31] John Nottingham, long the guiding influence at EAPH, has written about precisely this problem:

> The educational environment was still so British that we were not able to question many of the publishing assumptions that were made by ministries. . . . I am convinced that all publishers in East Africa use unnecessarily high quality paper for many of the school books. . . . We were forced to realize that we would have to fight a battle, which should never have needed fighting, on someone else's battleground with the weapons he chose. We had to convince the East African governments that publishing was not an insuperably difficult skill which local people could not possibly achieve.[32]

The continuing depression of Third World publishing in the grip of these various pressures is amply illustrated by production figures. While book production in the United Kingdom in the 1970s has been up to 40,000 titles a year, in the United States over 80,000, and in France up to 30,000, figures for 1973 show Ghana's production at 136, Malawi's at 32, Tanzania's at 123, Nigeria's at 1316, Kenya's at 224, and so on.[33] Brazil and India have large domestic industries, but most countries are almost solely importers. Exports remain trivial; Mexico and Argentina, the largest book exporters among Third World countries, have sales well under one-tenth that of the major exporters — the United States and the United Kingdom.[34] The growth and diversification of the multinational publishers is already too advanced to rely on blithe optimism in predicting the future of domestic autonomous publishing in the Third World.

PUBLISHING, THE MEDIA, AND CULTURAL DEPENDENCY

In examining the software of contemporary international relations, many analysts have detected the replacement of military or economic control by cultural colonization. The global diffusion of ideas, values, ways of behaving and forms of entertainment represents a new and potentially more powerful means of domination. In fact, to make sense of such a concept, it is better to see cultural dependency as the complement, rather than the alternative, to economic dominance. It is necessary, too, to separate it from the deliberate use of propaganda, and to recognize the systematic and intrinsic nature of cultural control in tandem with eco-

nomic control. There is no space here to look more closely at these notions;[35] but the diversification and internationalization of publishing does warrant some discussion in these terms.

A first and crucial element of cultural dependency is that of language. As the medium for the transmission of ideas and culture, a foreign language is clearly a broad conduit. Most books in the Third World cater to the educated cosmopolitan readers in urban centers, and are byproducts of the multinational education system they populate. As Kaser has observed, technical and professional books do not usually: "warrant either original authorship, or even translation and publication in the vernacular, and thus these books are distributed in their original Western languages. This requires, of course, that anyone who would tap the advanced expertise of the world has to master a Western language — usually English, which has come to be a scholar's *lingua franca.*"[36] This growing dominance of English as a global language is seen by some writers as a cultural Trojan horse, carrying alien cultures and values.[37]

Some evidence of the impact of this trend on indigenous publishing in the Third World is seen in the high proportion of English-language texts produced. To give just a few examples (1973 figures): in Argentina, 553 out of a total domestic production of 4578 titles were in English; in India, 6183 out of 14,064; in Malaysia, 417 out of 1082.[38] The converse of this trend is that English is the world's most translated language; by 1970, 41 percent of all translations were from English. The cultural impact of translations from English authors into foreign languages may perhaps be wondered at in view of the appearance of only two English authors among the world's five most translated authors, viz., Enid Blyton and Agatha Christie. Nonetheless, both trends emphasize the emergence of English to a position of "dominance as the medium of international literary culture."[39]

The crucial institutional form of cultural dependence is, of course, in education. Between 80 percent and 95 percent of publishing in the Third World is educational material of one kind or another. Education systems were systematically linked with those of the imperial power, and examples abound of what one writer has called "education for underdevelopment."[40] The flow of educational materials perpetuates this interdependence, with all its attendant problems of the brain drain, inappropriate technology, etc., which lie beyond the purview of this paper.[41] Very often, demands for indigenization of educational publishing are seen, probably rightly, to represent political ambitions, and are received accordingly. Writing of the potential for African involvement in African education, Alden Clark notes

with alarm: "Unfortunately, universities in Africa tend to be suspect at this time. They harbour tight little establishments of foreigners, foment dissent, and generate worrisome ideas."[42] It is anxieties of this kind that lay the foundation for the links between political activities and commercial publishing noted earlier.

More generally and less conspiratorially, however, the link between publishing and cultural dependency is its conjunction with the international media and entertainment industries. Like broadcasting, publishing in Third World countries is largely run by and caters to urban elites whose tastes and values are shaped by exposure to European and American material, which either replaces local production or prompts emulation by it. It is in this incidental shaping of consciousness by the provision of cultural material that the link between cultural dependence and economic dependence is most apparent.

The main aim of this paper has been to draw attention to two aspects of publishing. The first is the extent to which developments in publishing mirror those in other communications media, and can be better understood by comparison with them. The second aspect is the extent to which the internationalization of publishing should be seen as part of the growth of multinational media generally. Both developments underline the need to consider the political economy of the media as a whole when attempting to analyze particular trends and situations within publishing.

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Books and Development in Africa — Access and Role*

KEITH SMITH

THE NATURE OF PUBLISHING and the constraints imposed upon it are important factors in determining the impact of books within a society. Key differences within societies as well as internationally account for important variables in the publishing process. The situation for children's books may be different from that for academic books or popular fiction. The close examination that has been given to other media industries, such as films and broadcasting, must be brought to bear on book publishing if a fuller understanding of the publishing process is to be gained.

The book should not naïvely be ennobled as the vehicle of culture and knowledge, but examination must be made of the structure and forces that determine what books are published, who reads them and with what effect. Earlier articles have discussed the forces that determine which books are published.[1] This article will consider the structures and forces that determine who reads the various categories of books and what function the books play within the society — access and role.

The geographical focus of this article is anglophone middle Africa or what is often called English-speaking black Africa, an area which stretches from Sierra Leone in the west to Kenya in the east, and from Sudan in the north to Lesotho in the south. The major focus will be on Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia. In this area, six or seven British-based multinational companies dominate book publishing activity. Other articles have described the control they retain and its impact. However, influences other than simply multinational dominance of pub-

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lishing determine the pattern of access to books and the role books play. The picture is complex and varied. The particular role of the book medium in development will first be examined and compared to the role of other media.

A ROLE FOR BOOKS IN DEVELOPMENT

Much eloquent prose has attempted to place books in the center of development strategies, but planners and politicians have remained only partially convinced. Such arguments see books and literacy as two "agents" furthering development. The ability to read and the availability of books are also aspects of development. They are skills and tools that extend the individual's freedoms of choice and action and freedom to learn. They are "enabling tools" that can produce a climate for development, or more usually, lead people on from such attitudes to the adoption of innovations which are in themselves development. They can, for example, allow the farmer to achieve higher productivity, or the family to remain in better health, or the curious to extend their knowledge. Books and reading can also retard development. They spread the techniques of exploitation and enable the advocates of conspicuous consumerism to reach their markets. These dangers should not eclipse the powerful potential of books for spreading knowledge internationally and within a country. The most obvious example of this is the schoolbook, which still provides the main source around which school learning revolves.

The cultural enrichment that can follow the capturing of traditional culture in print is increasingly important in a rapidly changing society — but print can be overemphasized as the essential media for this task. Some librarians have pointed out that the transfer of the concept of the print-based library from the literate metropolitan countries to the oral-based cultures of Africa might be inappropriate.[2] They favor an audiovisual and interpersonal basis for libraries through which users will be led to the more rapid and extensive communication of print.

Ever since the development of battery-operated transistor radios in the 1950s, radio ownership has been increasing in Africa. Because it is more accessible than television, radio provides the more satisfactory comparison to books. Recent figures show that the incidence of radio ownership reflects a continent's relative poverty or wealth in much the same way that book production does; of the four accredited "mass media" (cinema, newspapers, radio and television), radio is the only medium that approaches the Unesco "minimum adequate communications" yardstick of 5 sets per 100 inhabitants. Unesco figures show that those countries with

the lowest density of radios are increasing their rate of ownership fastest.[3] This rapid increase in ownership is reflected in the data available for anglophone middle Africa. Of the 14 relevant African countries, 8 show continually increasing radio density of 1-4 more radios a year per 1000 inhabitants. In Swaziland the rate of increase is much more rapid.

The comparative figures for cultural paper consumption suggest a falling rate of local literary production per inhabitant within the region, except in the stronger centers such as Kenya and Zambia. (These figures include much nonbook production, although they cover only paper destined for print or writing of some type.) Other figures show the huge leaps in book imports in recent years; in Kenya the increase was from $1.5 million in 1970 to $3.6 million in 1971, and in Nigeria from $7.6 million in 1970 to $13.2 million in 1971.[4] The introduction of universal primary education in Nigeria has since created a huge rise in imports of books to Nigeria.

Despite the fact that books form an aspect of development, there seems to be a *prima facie* case for concentrating on use of broadcasting as a tool to engender development in Africa. It is a faster spreading medium, and since it does not require literacy, it is more accessible. There are, however, reasons why concentrating resources on broadcasting would be a mistake. Socially and economically it would be divisive and would induce frustration. It would also tend to exacerbate dependency on Western cultures. Such a policy would prove divisive because it would tend to lead to continuing illiteracy. Because illiterates do not have direct access to information held in print, they become distanced from those who can read and who therefore have better chances of upward socioeconomic mobility. When some social classes have far greater access to print than others do, then printed material functions as a tool to promote long-term concentrations of power and wealth. Concentration on broadcasting would likewise lead to frustration, because in Africa, listening to broadcasting tends to increase the desire for upward mobility into the modern sector.[5] Illiterates have this desire, yet communication in the modern sector is based on writing and reading, and thus excludes the illiterate from easy participation.

The international cultural dependence currently resulting from the flow of software into developing countries is most evident among the urban elites who have access to television and films. Several commentators have pointed to the powerful one-way flow of programs from Western manufacturers to developing countries. In particular, the software of U.S.-based multinational conglomerates tends to dominate the screens of most

developing countries. Although Western publishing multinationals dominate much of the book trade of developing countries, their dominance is less culturally deleterious. The flow of writing is not so markedly one-way, for the cultural ideology and economic shape of publishing allow multinationals to publish the works of some authors from developing countries. These books then reach an international readership, which includes part of the Western book-reading public.

Interestingly, some recent mixed-media informal continuing education projects, which have been built up around radio programs, have proved to be effective mechanisms of development. Exceptional results have been achieved in the Tanzanian "Man is Health" campaign, which reached large numbers of the rural population through its radio programs, study groups and printed materials, thereby effecting extensive changes in health practices. Such media forums which combine radio, print and interpersonal channels hold some of the best opportunities for widespread development, provided they disseminate a relevant and credible message.[6]

Thus, both as part of mixed-media forums and in their own right, books are not only useful tools in development, but necessary if development is to be socially equitable. Furthermore, the book publishing trade helps to temper the more ferocious vehicles of cultural domination — although it is itself by no means a neutral agent.

ACCESS TO BOOKS

An earlier article on African publishing has sketched the picture of who publishes various categories of books and who determines which books are published.[7] There now arises the question of who in these African societies has access to books (and thus the information and entertainment they contain), and what features of society determine the pattern of access. At one level the question can be answered very simply — students. With around 80 percent of the book trade being educational books, students are clearly the major users of books. (The question of who attends school, with all its interesting components of the criteria governing the distribution of educational facilities, family wealth and cultural attitudes toward formal learning, is beyond the scope of this article.) Determining who outside the formal educational system gains access to books is a more central issue to publishing and the book world. There are many constraints on access which should be identified.

The right-hand section of Figure 1 shows that the message of a book passes to more people than its readers. Through speech and action it can reach contacts of the reader, whether it be as a retold joke or as a funda-

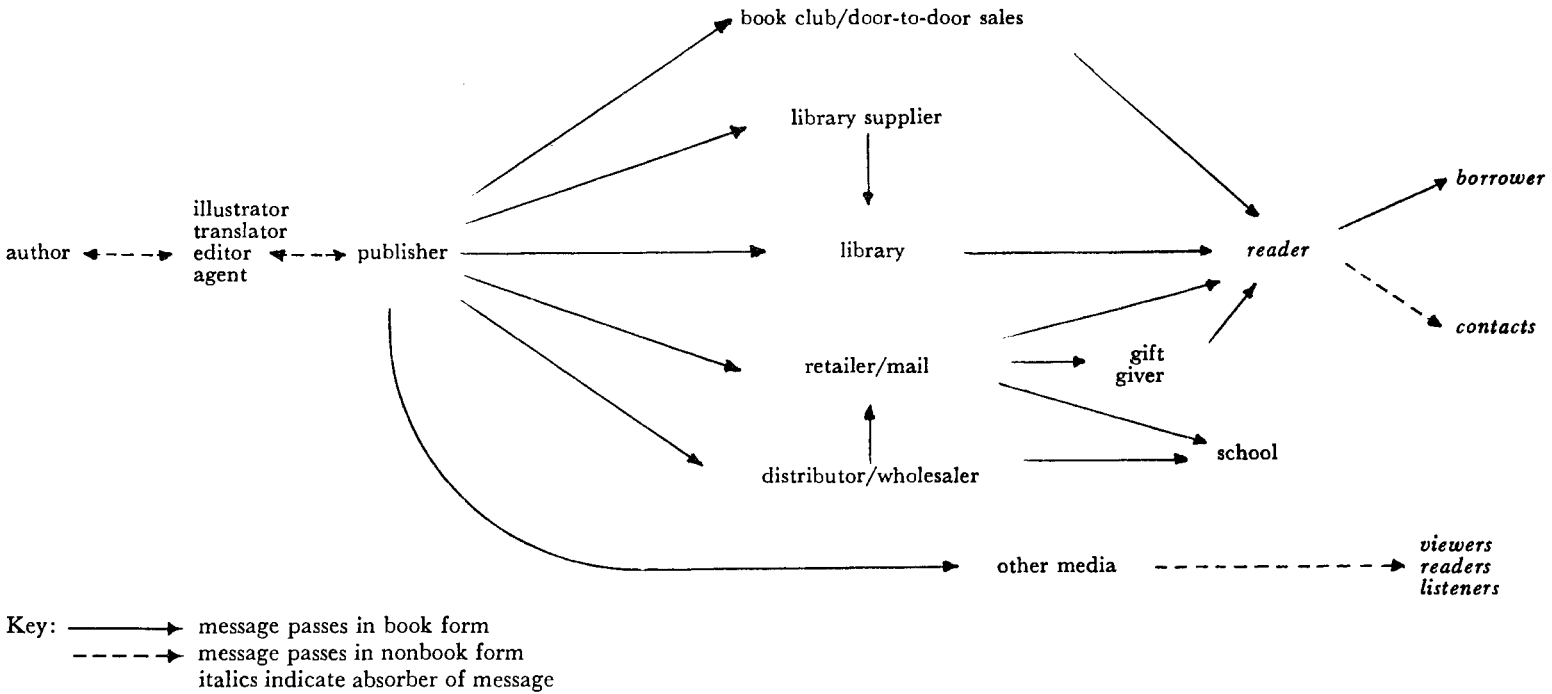

Figure 1. Channels of Access to an Author's Work

mental change in lifestyle. The extent of this network depends on the degree of social stratification present in a society and the nature of communication within and between social groups. A dominant group within a society tends to introduce relations of communication which prescribe asymmetrical communication. For instance, within the hierarchy of a church, social structure or business, ritual or sociojuridical rights to determine the content of an exchange or to begin or end it may be held by upper echelons only, i.e., "Speak only when spoken to." In this way the flow of information between dominated and dominating is controlled by the dominators.[8]

The flow of book messages through other media is increasing in the West through greater intermedia contact and penetration. Publicity departments of publishing houses are actively courting other media to feature their authors or serialize their authors' works. However, this is not a prominent feature of African communications. The messages of books are therefore not often passed on through the other media.

The most basic factor in determining direct access to books is literacy. With adult (15 years old and older) illiteracy standing at about 74 percent in non-Arab Africa in 1970, three-fourths of the population is excluded from reading. This figure is higher in some countries, such as Sierra Leone, where literacy has not yet reached 10 percent, and lower in others, such as Lesotho, where it is around 40 percent. Throughout the continent illiteracy is more prevalent among women (83 percent) than men (65 percent) and more extensive among the poor and rural dwellers than in towns.[9] Africa has not seen the massive literacy campaigns of countries such as Cuba and the USSR, and this has led to suggestions that some African governments have found it more convenient to allow the mass of their populations to remain illiterate. The relationship between literacy and reading is two-way in that various proportions of the illiterate populations were literates who have relapsed because they were unable to obtain appealing reading material. In some cases such material has not been published, and in others the neoliterate has no access to it.

One barrier that haunts African book production is the vast array of languages of the continent, many of which are used by comparatively few people. Even when larger numbers speak a language, they are occasionally peoples divided by the national borders artificially formed by the European scramble for Africa. They therefore form fragmented markets, too small to appeal to commercial publishers and with low priority for national noncommercial publishers. In the West, greater affluence among specialist readers allows publishers to produce titles for minority interests. In Africa,

a person literate in only a minority language is unlikely to find many books or other publications available in that language.

There are three basic ways to obtain a book: buying, borrowing or receiving it as a gift (see Figure 1). Western publishing has always focused its attention on individuals buying either for themselves or as a gift for others; this has fostered bookshops. The focus of attention for the multinational publishers in Africa has been the educational system, whether it be approached through ministries of education, bookshops, teachers or parents. The multinationals do not invest in the book distribution system directly except by occasionally granting new outlets extended credit. They do very little to foster bookshops. It is still far easier to find a range of books on sale in the cities. Rural populations have been variously approached in different parts of Africa by peddlers, literature bureau vans, and the religious bookstalls which are offshoots of churches. Larger market towns usually have a shop or market stall that sells a few titles. The East African Literature Bureau has run promotions and is planning new ones to encourage small shopkeepers to take books — their present revenue from rural communities is 10 percent of their total. Other than through the small literature bureaus and mission work, there has been very little official encouragement of book distribution in these African countries.

Giving books as presents is not an established feature of African social life even among the urban intelligentsia. There is no equivalent to the Christmas book-giving bonanzas of Western countries.[10]

The major constraint on book-buying by literates in Africa is poverty. Libraries have always been seen as one way around this constraint. Table 1 shows the distribution of public and school libraries in African countries and compares their achievements with Cuba and Jamaica, two countries whose library development programs have been particularly extensive. Ghana, parts of Nigeria, and Tanzania have the most extensive library systems in anglophone middle Africa, but even these do not compare with the Cuban service, built out of a political ideology which gave priority to the extension of literacy and access to knowledge, or with the Jamaican system, built up with the assistance of British cash and know-how. The spasmodic nature of literacy campaigns, the absence of strong political lobbies for books and the underdevelopment of infrastructure remain the major restraints on African library services.

It is rare for the facilities provided by school libraries to be extended by using them as area libraries. In many cases this would be difficult, since the school library may still be a cupboard which contains only a few inap-

Country	Year	Estimated Population (millions)	Public Libraries: Service Points	Public Libraries: Registered Borrowers	Public Libraries: Loans to Users	School Libraries
Botswana	1968	.56	6	200	...	10
Ethiopia	1968	23.44	25	50,000	...	43
Gambia	1971	.37	5	1,018	17,257	3
Ghana	1971	8.86	50	26,000	830,000	...
Kenya	1968	10.48	5	9,959	...	206*
Liberia	1968	1.13	6	18,100	...	53
Nigeria	1971	56.51	74	150,979	...	...
Sierra Leone	1968	2.48	11	27,938	...	...
Uganda	1971	10.13	19	47,995	...	...
Cuba	1971	8.60	253	2.2 million	1.6 million	...
Jamaica	1968	1.80 (est.)	260	286,538	...	791

* Secondary school libraries only
N.B.: Unesco cautions against close comparisons among countries because of the poor statistical returns.

Table 1. Public and School Libraries

Source: Unesco. *Statistical Yearbook, 1973.* Paris, Unesco Press, 1974; and Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Statistical Office. *Demographic Yearbook, 1973.* New York, United Nations, 1974.

propriate books. Thus, despite the attempts that have been made through some literacy campaigns and by the literature bureaus and sometimes by the library services, access to books remains severely limited in most parts of these countries. As a result, literates relapse; there is less incentive to achieve literacy, and some literates become nonreaders of books.

There are also social and physical elements of many African societies that determine access to books and reading. President Nyerere pointed to some of these:

> Too often in our own society a person who sits down to read is accused of being lazy or of being unsociable. This attitude we must change. When we get to the position where a man and wife can sit together in the evening each reading or reading to each other, and when their children are encouraged to learn out of school by reading books which are easily available, then we shall have made a big breakthrough in our development.[11]

In all social groups in any culture, attitudes toward books affect book-buying and reading habits. Attitudes range from considering reading to be a pastime solely for women that is slighting to male virility, to buying certain books for display as part of a social message. In some groups within

African societies, books (like spectacles and pens) are status symbols, but even this does not ensure that they are read. Many groups, particularly women, have little leisure time, and for others, patterns of leisure are firmly established as conversation, music or social activity that is far removed from the apparently solitary activity of reading.

Those who do want to read find problems. In her study of reading among groups of people with primary schooling in Uganda, Phipps found that the major complaint was noise (29 percent of the sample). A few readers found insufficient light a problem; just over 50 percent read by hurricane lamp.[12]

There are ways in which access to books and the ideas and entertainment they contain can be deliberately restricted to a privileged group. Where library systems are inadequate, a polarized society ensures that the poor do not have access to the knowledge in books. The same is true when literacy is limited or when publishing is confined to the language of an elite. Even when the dominated classes achieve access to books, a subversive literary culture can be harassed through censorship (e.g., South Africa), or through pressures resulting in self-censorship (e.g., Ethiopia during the reign of Haile Sellassie), taxes (e.g., Stamp Tax in nineteenth-century Britain) or control over the channels of distribution (e.g., the USSR).[13] Preempting a subversive literary culture by publishing material for the newly literate social groups with the intention of social control may be just as effective as repression. But none of these political mechanisms is required for restricting the impact of books when the social, cultural and literacy infrastructure, combined with market forces, ensures differentiated access to books.

Extensive illiteracy, a poor library service and disadvantaged indigenous publishing are fundamental shortcomings in the social and educational development of most anglophone middle African countries. Actions taken in other developing countries suggest that these are elements of the infrastructure of development that can be upgraded if the government and national political philosophy accords them sufficient priority and if, above all, the ruling interests want to effect change.

THE CURRENT ROLE OF BOOKS AND THE RESULTS OF LIMITED ACCESS

The role books play in the societies of anglophone middle Africa and in their development varies with the type of book and with the readership. The major types of books and their readers should therefore be considered.

When a group of people do not have access to books because of illiteracy, limited library service, absence of readable books, lack of interest in reading, or because of poverty, then books may not appear to have a role in their lives directly. Yet, if within the wider society books are read by some groups whose access is not inhibited, an imbalance in access to information will be created. Therefore, if books are present at all in a society, their function impinges on all groups and classes within that society.

SCHOOLBOOKS

Schoolbooks function as tools of education. They can contribute to the development of human resources necessary for national development. They are broadly controlled by the curricula, the exams, and in varying degrees by the ministries of education. Finer control is exercised by authors, editors and the buyers through the market.[14]

Schoolbooks influence the attitudes and ideas of pupils, and in doing so, reflect the ideas of the controls. Whether their influence is a force for development will vary; certainly books "dumped" by some foreign publishers are not. Some attitudes which promote development may be reflected by the controls but they are often limited. Curricula and exams are the products of metropolitan middle-class thinking, and in those areas with a less pervasive national philosophy, the main concerns are the strictly pedagogical aspects of education coupled with mild reinforcement of the existing social order. Countries such as Tanzania, with its more than usually egalitarian and development-oriented national philosophy, have found the schoolbooks of other African countries unsuitable.

In most countries of the region, schooling is seen to be a series of tests which determine life chances and, in particular, access to the urban areas and the modern sector of the economy.[15] Schoolbooks become tools in this hunt. This is particularly evident in the extensive buying of self-study and cram books by pupils and their families. Cram books like *The C.P.E. Pupil's Companion to All Subjects,* published each year for the Kenyan Certificate of Primary Education, sell over 70,000 copies a year. Their spread does seem to correspond roughly with success in CPE.[16]

Textbooks serve as a guide to and are a powerful influence on teachers in less-developed countries, who have often only undergone a comparatively short education and training. This produces a conservatism among teachers which counteracts the modernizing forces (sometimes developmental, sometimes not) found in newer books, which the conservative teacher will resist adopting. Other conservative forces are the result of a carryover of the colonial pattern, where official educators and minis-

try staff wrote books or curricula which were then retained throughout that official's administration. At other times, a poor curriculum can be preserved if a good course of books is published for it.[17] Inappropriate modernization can be introduced through the practice of adapting foreign material for the black African market.[18] Many African governments have recognized both the need to provide free schoolbooks and the political popularity of this measure. If families have to purchase schoolbooks, the pupils from the already disadvantaged backgrounds suffer, and the purchase of schoolbooks becomes a mechanism for reinforcing inequalities.

Very little research has yet been carried out on bias, prejudice and stereotyping in African textbooks. Elsewhere, the German Internationales Schulbuchinstitut has pioneered work in this field and has been followed by the Society for Education Information in Japan.[19] Anglo-American studies of the 1960s concentrated on the selective vocabulary used in the portrayal of historical events (*we* "withdraw" but *they* are "defeated"). More recently, attention has passed to racial and sexual stereotyping in various types of books, particularly in reading schemes for children in their most formative years. This attention has not yet been applied to African schoolbooks in a systematic manner.[20]

In colonial times, history schoolbooks for Africa were grossly unbalanced. Extensive coverage was given to events in Europe and minimal attention was given to the history of African society. Africans tended to be cast in a passive role and political pressure for independence played down. This was a result of the controls on the educational system and the attitudes and unbalanced knowledge of the authors and editors of the era. Whether this imbalance has been corrected is doubtful. Much of the recent historiography has certainly sought to redress the balance by showing that Africa did have a past which could be accredited as a worthy history by European standards. There were kings, cities, empires, art and learning comparable to European history. But all these arguments accept bourgeois European standards and try to establish an African history to match them. Meanwhile, the social history of the common person, the dominated classes, the stateless societies, and the extension of underdevelopment through unequal trade tend to be ignored, which is a distortion of history.[21]

SCHOLARLY BOOKS

Turning to academic and tertiary books, it almost goes without saying that their main use is to extend, increase and spread knowledge. What

sort of knowledge and communication forms the core of this category and who benefits from it?

This African market is still largely dominated by metropolitan tastes acting through international market forces. These forces determine what is available for readers and which manuscripts are published. Since it is those books published by the multinationals that most easily reach the developed world, an African academic or tertiary teacher whose work is published by a multinational is much more likely to break into the international circuit, with all its prestige and benefits.[22] Once this has happened, the exposure the author receives will tend to make his next work more publishable and thus to fuel the cycles of academic stardom.

The degree to which these books of higher education benefit more people than merely their readers is almost entirely determined by the sociopolitical structure of a society. In a society such as China, the selection mechanisms of the village or factory ensure that those people who receive higher education return to benefit the community. This contrasts sharply with the professionals of many other poor countries, who frequently use their local training as a stepping-stone to the greater affluence of employment in the West, thereby leaving continuing shortages of trained personnel in their own country. Access to higher education, even when the beneficiary remains within his African country, is a means of passing into the very high income sector, which contrasts strikingly with the general level of poverty. Tertiary and scholarly books in these African market economies are functional and therefore reflect and reinforce these patterns.

While there remains a system of higher education that contains the two links of international professional migration and an internationally oriented salariat, there will be a tendency for higher education books to move only very slowly away from Western styles and influences, toward material of importance for widespread local development.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD BOOKS

Another aspect to be considered is the reading of noninstitutional books, that is, those books not written primarily for formal educational instruction. Among these are books for neoliterates, general work in African languages other than English and French, and literary and popular books. Reading of such books reflects certain attitudes found in anglophone middle Africa.

First, most reading is utilitarian or achievement-reading, aimed at personal advance toward or within the modern sector of the economy.

This may be sought through qualification or through improved skills (particularly language skills), or through extended knowledge. Phipps, for example, found that not only did 69 percent of her sample of readers give learning as their main reason for reading nonfiction, but 63 percent stated that they read fiction because it was instructive (47 percent) or useful (16 percent), compared to 36 percent who read fiction because it was enjoyable (28 percent) or interesting (8 percent).[23]

Some commentators have lamented what they see as an unhealthy imbalance between achievement reading and leisure reading. More pertinent are the underlying reasons for the preponderance of achievement reading. African societies generally show strong desires to attain, as do other developing communities, and it would be strange if this were not reflected in their reading. (Tropical Africa does not have the leisured female middle class of South Africa that provides such a lucrative market for British and South African leisure book publishing.) The role of books in school and the frequent use of rote learning which accompanies them reinforces the attitude that books are instruments of learning.[24]

Why, it might be asked, should peoples with a strong oral culture embrace reading for pleasure? Nonfiction books are an invaluable means of spreading knowledge and speeding communications in the development process, but plastic art and oral communication can surely provide the cultural and leisure basis of a developing community just as well as literary art. There is nothing ignoble about reading fiction with the primary intention of learning rather than diversion. Art in many African societies performed a functional role as much as an aesthetic one; often it has been a medium of instruction. This attitude has spilled over into the work of many African literary novelists and is one reason why much African popular writing moralizes. It may even partially explain the now-infamous popularity of the British "Victorian" writers Bertha Clay and Marie Corelli in West Africa in the 1960s.

The second attitude revealed in general reading is that the contents of books are often considered indisputable and treated with unusual reverence. This is true of institutional reading too. Merely quoting a book can be regarded as substantiating a point, and teachers who wish to dispute a statement in a textbook will often find their efforts rejected by their students. This attitude toward books has a flimsy rationale, for there is no reason why writing in itself should be truer than speech. In fact, the impossibility of immediate refutation may encourage writers to put forward tendentious points. Publishers, while often concerned about the

overall accuracy of their authors' works, are more concerned about consistency than with checking the accuracy of the parts.

This reverential attitude toward books is found elsewhere among followers of movements with comprehensive philosophies which feature guru figures, such as Christianity and Maoism. In Africa this attitude is a derivative of the Islamic and Christian religions. Most societies in middle Africa appear to have had an almost totally nonliterate culture until the Almoravid movement into the west Sudan region of West Africa in the second half of the eleventh century. The Almoravids brought some Islamic texts,[25] but reading and writing remained confined to the small religious group and did not spread until the more populist Christian missions started literacy work in the second half of the nineteenth century. Much of Africa's early experience of the book was therefore of the Koran and the Bible, and the reverence and indisputability accorded to these titles has become associated with books in general. Many other cultures have come to the book through religious works and, in time, this spillover of reverential attitudes fades. In middle Africa the arrival of the book is more recent and so the reverential attitudes are still strong.

LITERACY

One of the most important roles that noninstitutional books take is in the fields of literacy learning, adult education and the reading of neoliterates. These forms of reading can be instruments of development — literacy is an incentive to innovate and a tool for acquiring knowledge. A further clue to the book's role can be gained from people's reasons for wanting to learn to read and write. Surveys show that it is more often for general social reasons, for its own value, or for prestige than for specific economic reasons. This appears to remain true even where the program goal is functional literacy, an approach which results in fewer dropouts than the more traditional methods. With the desire to break out of the seclusion of illiteracy, it is not surprising that neoliterates concentrate on reading newspapers and magazines rather than books. Newspapers and magazines are usually more easily obtained, more easily read and more vital than much of the book material published for neoliterates.

Book publishers tend to accept this situation and presume that neoliterates will read either topical mass-circulation material or will be provided for by government-sponsored organizations such as the literature bureaus. The religious publishing houses are exceptions. They have continued their concern to reach the neoliterate with basic informal education and religious propaganda. In anglophone middle Africa the neo-

literates' limited access to appealing books and the consequential relapse into illiteracy (sometimes at rates of around 60 percent) combine to limit access to the modern sector and maintain the silence of ignorance. These phenomena in turn allow polarization within societies to continue unabated.

BOOKS IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

Books in African vernacular languages play various roles depending on the type of book — schoolbook, literacy reader or literary work. The language of a book has an influence on its role, also. Cultural works in vernaculars have a particular function of capturing and developing traditional culture. This genre is not vigorous at present. Most categories of vernacular books, including these, widen access to information by making it available to people literate in their vernacular language only. Books could also play an important part in legitimizing vernacular languages. At present it is unlikely that they do, since more highly educated bilingual readers prefer to read English. This preference reinforces the attitude that characterizes English as a language of modernization and progress, and the vernaculars as the traditional regional languages of the countryside with its poverty, primitivism and isolation from the outside world. At present, there is little evidence that the limited publishing of vernacular books and booklets is closing the widening gap between these two cultures.

LITERARY BOOKS

The function of literary works and literary publishing differs from popular and mass market fiction in various ways. Compared with other categories, there is a fairly large number of literary titles published in English by African publishers. Poetry is, for instance, widely regarded as one of the most marginal types of publishing in rich Western countries, yet there is a small flow of published poetry coming from African countries where publishing is weak and books and book-readers scarce. This is partly an outcome of the popularity of poetry in oral cultures and partly the result of literature teachers wanting to include some poetry in their courses in order to provide a variety of literary forms.

African literature in English is published very largely for use in formal or semiformal learning in secondary schools and universities. This is in contrast to Europe, where the main market for literary work is sections of the general public and public libraries. As has already been noted, however, there is a variety of educational, social, economic and political reasons why this pattern does not occur in Africa. This situation is appreci-

ated by those African novelists who see themselves partly as teachers, those who write specifically for the demands of the higher education market, and those, such as Cyprian Ekwensi and Kole Omotoso, who have also written for the popular market.

An analysis of past traditional cultures, of colonial damage, and of aspects of Africa today is evident in much African writing, yet most of it is the product of privileged education and will be read by those working to break into the affluent sector of the economy. To say this is not to question the integrity of African literary authors; it is only to place literary writing and reading in its present elitist perspective — a perspective which is inevitable, given the nature of current stratified social structures.

Fiction publishing could present unusual opportunities in giving rural dwellers and those from outside the modern sector of the economy access to a media as contributors. Other media tend to preclude this: commercially supported media tend to concentrate their thrust on the richer consumers who are the targets of the supporting advertisers; government media tend to be dominated by messages flowing from the urban center to the rural areas, with very little in reverse. Creators or performers in other media, such as pop music, automatically enter the rich sector of the economy and are therefore no longer rural poor, although they may (but seldom do) continue speaking for them. The arts that currently flow from rural and suburban to urban dwellers and international circuits, such as carving, dance and music, do not carry rational messages as effectively as books. Books could theoretically present opportunities for the rural poor to speak to urban dwellers.

Despite its comparatively small sales outside Africa, African literature has succeeded in presenting a variety of views on Africans and African life to the non-African world. Some critics consider that this is a neo-colonial preoccupation of some African writers. Nevertheless, their work may have changed some attitudes and led some non-African readers to see a picture of a corner of African life, presented by an African writer. The availability of the story-from-inside as well as the story-looking-in is enriching for the outside world. It is now the fare of readers in far-flung places, including British, American and Australian schools.

While African writers present aspects of Africa to a foreign readership, this readership is very small. Far more non-Africans experience Africa through pop music, its sports players, its animals or through the activities of some political leaders. Like other literature from lesser developed countries, African literature is not as widely translated as the literature of the more developed countries. No African author appears in

the Unesco listing of authors whose works were translated at least twenty times in 1971. Of these 131 names, the only authors from outside the rich countries of the world were Mao Tse-tung and the Guatemalan M.A. Asturias. (The writers of sections of the Bible are not included, since this title and the *Arabian Nights* are excluded from this listing.) The spread of African writing is therefore not as extensive as the works of writers from the USSR, United Kingdom, France and Germany.

LIGHT FICTION AND POPULAR NONFICTION

African popular literature does not command an international readership. There has been a rigid division between literary writing and popular writing which is only now showing signs of breaking down. Popular African literature has been dismissed by the African intelligentsia, and has only evoked curiosity from academics. The following short list is typical of the genre:

Rachel Ririani	*One Woman Too Late*	(Njogu Gitene, Nairobi)
Daniel S. Ngángá	*Gamblers Often Lose*	(Njogu Gitene, Nairobi)
Damaris Sousi	*Hesitant Love* and *Love Music*	(Transafrica, Nairobi, 1974)
Ogali A. Ogali	*Veronica My Daughter*	(Appolos Brothers, Onitsha, 1957)
Wilfred Onwuku	*The Way to Write Love Letters and Make Good Friendship with Girls*	(Gebo & Bros., Onitsha, 1963)
Sunday Okenwa Olisah	*Money Hard to Get but Easy to Spend*	(J. C. Brothers, Onitsha)
Naiwo Osahon	*Sex is a Nigger*	(Di Nigro Press, Apapa)

These titles themselves indicate the function of this genre. Much is entertainment, sometimes distractive, often read by people more familiar with local dialects of English than with national or international English. Much of the work has a strong informative content, covering subjects such as letter writing, courting, manners and money management. These subjects are of particular concern to younger readers in the informal sector. Much appears to have a strongly moralizing tone, for reasons discussed earlier and perhaps also because this justifies covering more risqué topics. This tone also reflects that of the religious writing, with which some of the readers are familiar.

Books are not mere noble vehicles of knowledge and culture. Their

function depends primarily on which groups have access to what kinds of books. This is determined by a variety of historical, political and economic forces. Whether books are a force for widespread development depends on the existence of a purposeful national program for development, backed by resources and national mobilization, and unimpeded by local reactionary elements or entrenched foreign interests.

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Scholarly Publishing in the Third World

PHILIP G. ALTBACH

THE CREATION AND DISSEMINATION of knowledge is a complex process in any society, and is particularly difficult in the Third World, where the economic, intellectual, and institutional structures of the scientific community are not well established. This article[1] focuses on the dissemination of knowledge in the Third World. The article is predicated on the idea that knowledge dissemination is especially important in the Third World context, since the emergence of an independent intellectual life and some self-sufficiency in the scientific realm depend in part on building the structures for knowledge dissemination. Traditionally, the principal means of dissemination are scholarly journals and publishers of books and related materials. Focus will be mainly on one element of this equation, i.e. scholarly publishing and especially university publishing, since this is seen as a key to supplying the needs of Third World nations. This discussion begins with the special problems facing the Third World in terms of scholarly publishing and then discusses the possible roles of the university press in this context. Given the paucity of data on this topic, the discussion is necessarily somewhat general and is aimed both at analyzing some current problems and at stimulating thought concerning one creative means of fulfilling an urgent building block in the structure of intellectual development.

This article focuses largely on universities in the process of creation and dissemination of knowledge, and special attention is paid to the university press as a means of communication. While universities do not have a monopoly on either creation or distribution of knowledge, they are, especially in the Third World, the key institutions in this process. They house the large share of creative scholars, sponsor most functioning re-

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search institutes, provide stimulation for scholarly life through the norms of academic life, and in the Third World are often the center of the intellectual life of the nation. This has not always been the case; up to a century ago many scientific discoveries were made by independent intellectuals, and at present, work in the applied sciences in some countries is often done in industrial or government-sponsored laboratories. While universities play a key role in knowledge distribution in the English-speaking countries, some European nations rely on books and journals issued by private publishers for much of their scholarly publishing. Despite these exceptions, universities stand at the center of the scientific and intellectual process in many nations, especially those of the Third World, and therefore deserve considerable attention.

This discussion is based on several simple but not widely discussed ideas regarding the Third World. The need for Third World countries to establish independence in all spheres of modern life, including intellectual life, is critically important, and publishing is one small way to build such independence. As one observer put it, "To establish an indigenous publishing house is an act of liberation, and therefore a necessity, because it breaks the control, indeed the monopoly which the white races have over the world literature, for which reason they have controlled the mind of the African."[2] The intellectual "system" of which publishing is a part is complicated and requires considerable infrastructure.[3] It is not enough for an author to write a manuscript. There must be technical means of transforming that manuscript into a book, the editorial expertise to coordinate the process, the means of distribution and promotion, and a readership interested in reading the products of research and intellectual work. While publishing is relatively inexpensive in terms of investment of capital and equipment, it requires coordination of such elements as educational institutions, printers, authors, editors, booksellers, journals, and others.[4]

SPECIAL THIRD WORLD PROBLEMS

Publishing, as well as other elements of an industrialized society, faces special problems in the Third World. The infrastructures which are so important to publishing are often missing. In particularly short supply are skilled editors, designers, distribution experts, and others who are necessary in the book production process. While printing equipment and paper supplies are often available, they are in many cases imported and therefore expensive. Modern publishing is very much part of a network of communications within a society, and it is very difficult to establish one element of the network without the entire circle of communications.

Books need to be publicized and distributed. Scholarly books are particularly difficult to distribute adequately since the market is small and dispersed over a wide geographical area. In the Third World, distribution is especially difficult because of transportation problems, an especially small market, few channels for publicizing books, limited bibliographical tools, and the general level of poverty.[5]

Literacy rates in the Third World tend to be low — from 30 percent in India, more than 50 percent in many Latin American nations, to as little as 10 percent in some African nations. Perhaps more relevant to a consideration of scholarly publishing is the fact that the number of academics tends to be small and enrollments in higher education limited. General purchasing power is very limited, with per capita annual incomes of $300 or less in many nations, and it is impossible for the large majority of the population to buy books. In many Third World nations, even academics, who rank near the top of the income scale, find it difficult to afford to purchase books and journals. A network of libraries — which in industrialized nations account for up to 80 percent of the total purchases of scholarly books — is generally lacking in the Third World, thereby denying the publishing industry of a key market. It is estimated that in India, libraries account for between 80 percent and 90 percent of purchases of scholarly books. India, with its 3000 colleges and 100 universities, provides a fairly substantial institutional market for books. Most other Third World nations have fewer libraries and similar institutions.

Many Third World nations are faced with language problems which impinge directly on book publishing. The legacy of colonialism has left many Asian and African nations with educational systems which function largely in a foreign language — English or French — which is understood by only a small fraction of the indigenous population. The lack of a common indigenous language in many Third World countries, the wishes of an entrenched elite, and the inherent difficulties of shifting communications media for education, government and the economy are among the problems which have led to the continuing influence of European languages throughout the Third World.[6] The language problem is a serious one for the Third World in many respects, and it has major implications for publishing as well. For example, close to one-half of the books published in India annually are in English, yet only 2 percent of the Indian population is literate in English. Efforts to develop Swahili in East Africa have been hindered by the lack of a publishing apparatus, reluctance of some Africans to use the language, and other factors. Indonesia has been

more successful in establishing one of its languages as the national language and the key medium for book publishing. Policy-makers and scholars are faced with the dilemma of whether to publish in a European language and thereby broaden the market for their books, or to use an indigenous medium and immediately truncate the market — and probably the impact — of their books.

Third World nations are in many respects still dependent on the industrialized countries. One of these dependencies is in the area of knowledge creation and distribution. The major universities, research institutes, libraries, journals and publishing firms are located in the industrialized nations. The bulk of the funds spent for scientific research is spent in the West. The major languages of intellectual discourse and of scientific research are Western languages, predominantly English and French. In much of anglophone Africa, for example, publishing is dominated by firms based in the industrialized nations, especially Britain.[7] These firms publish most of the scholarly books, as well as a large share of the textbooks of those countries, and because of their entrenched position, make the emergence of indigenous publishers difficult. Third World nations are, in a sense, at the periphery of the world system of knowledge, with the industrialized nations at the center of that system.[8] This situation, which some analysts have called dependency, is in part a natural result of the legacy of colonialism, the imbalance in the world's scientific production, and the general internal problems of the Third World — poverty, illiteracy, the lack of a large educational system, and many others.

Another element which contributes to the continued intellectual domination of Western countries over the Third World is the deliberate policies of the industrialized nations to maintain their power. These policies have been called neocolonialism, and they operate in the arena of education and intellectual life, as well as in other areas.[9] Neocolonialism is maintained through foreign aid programs, loan policies of the industrialized nations, and in other ways. While a detailed analysis of neocolonialism is beyond the scope of this essay, it is a factor which must be considered in any analysis of publishing in the Third World.

SCHOLARLY PUBLISHING — THE CURRENT SITUATION

Given the seemingly insurmountable problems mentioned above, it is surprising that any scholarly publishing takes place in the Third World. Yet, scholarly books — those publications which report research findings, comment on academic matters, or in general are aimed at an audience of intellectuals — do get published. This section discusses some of the prob-

lems of scholarly publishing and surveys the current situation in some Third World nations.

In part due to the work of international agencies like Unesco, Third World governments have at least given some attention to the development of a book industry and the production of books. Most Third World nations have built up at minimum a rudimentary publishing industry, and are now able to issue school textbooks, literacy materials, and similar educational book materials.

There has been relatively little recognition at the governmental level of the importance of scholarly publishing. Universities have not taken much interest in fostering scholarly publishing, and when they have been involved in the publishing enterprise at all, it has with a few exceptions been at the level of providing textbooks for their own students, often in fields where indigenously produced texts did not exist. The concern for educational publishing in the Third World has for the most part been aimed at the production of textbooks and other curricular materials for all levels of the educational system, and for nonformal educational programs such as literacy efforts. Among the most successful government-sponsored publishing efforts in the Third World are the Casa de Libros in Cuba, the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Malaysia and the National Book Trust in India, all of which have been concerned with the production of basic literacy materials, textbooks, and to some extent with sponsoring books on cultural and intellectual topics.

It is not surprising that official concern with publishing has been for the very practical — and usually elementary — book needs of developing Third World economies. Scholarly books are considered to be less urgent than provision of textbooks where none at present exist. Even at the university level, scholars have been concerned with writing textbooks for undergraduate courses or simply with translating Western textbooks into indigenous languages because of a lack of such books. The minority of Third World universities with printing and publishing facilities has generally used these facilities for the immediate printing needs of their institutions — usually examination forms and textbooks — rather than for scholarly publishing.

While clear statistics are unavailable, it is possible to estimate that the bulk of scholarly books in the Third World come from two main sources at the present time. These two sources are: (1) publishers in the industrialized countries, who export their books to the Third World; and (2) commercial and, occasionally, governmental publishers in the Third World. Universities have only recently entered publishing, although in a

few cases they are actively participating in scholarly publishing programs. It is likely that the majority of scholarly books still originates outside the Third World and is published in Western languages.

The foreign origin of many scholarly books has several implications. Most are written by Western scholars and scientists. Good scholarship is in many ways culture-free, but the ideological orientations of Western scholars, the nature of their training, and the kinds of interests which are engendered by Western academic culture certainly have an impact on scholarship. Furthermore, the research questions which may be relevant to Western scientists may not be especially useful to the Third World. Books published in the industrialized nations are in many cases more expensive than domestically published works, and their distribution in most Third World nations tends to be slow and difficult. Imported books are a small drain on the foreign exchange reserves of the Third World as well, and international copyright regulations and patterns of book distribution generally work against the Third World.[10] Perhaps most important, books published in the industrialized nations are written, edited, and published for an audience in these countries and not to meet the needs of the Third World.

At the present time, most scholarly books published in the Third World are issued by private commercial publishers, except, of course, in those countries which do not have private publishers. In most of Africa and in parts of Southeast Asia, the majority of such indigenous scholarly publishing is carried out by local branches of foreign publishing firms such as Oxford University Press and Macmillan. This situation is a remnant of colonialism and has had a major impact on indigenous publishing.[11] Most of these "expatriate" publishers are from the former colonial power, although in recent years American firms have been increasingly active in Third World nations.

With the exception of a few university presses, the publication of scholarly books, research monographs, and the like is very much a sideline for indigenous Third World publishers. Scholarly publishing is not viable commercially as a mainstay of a profit-making business, although publishers in some countries indicate that scholarly books do break even or make a small profit, but only after a long period of time. Editions tend to be small — 1000 seems to be an average printing, with 800 not unusual.[12] Private sector publishers find their main profit in textbooks and sometimes in general book publishing, and scholarly books are a sideline done as a public service or to maintain prestige in the academic community, often the major customer for textbooks.

Distribution of scholarly books is a problem in any nation, and it is particularly difficult in the Third World. The national book markets, even in nations as large as India or Indonesia, are small due to the lack of purchasing power of individual academics, the limited number of libraries, and similar factors. Book exports to other Third World nations are a problem which has not been solved. Networks of publicity and commerce tend to run between England, France, and more recently the United States and the former colony. It has been said that it is easier in the Ivory Coast to obtain a book published in Paris than a book from neighboring Senegal. Publishers, distributors, and the intellectual public tend to look to the major Western centers for most intellectual needs, and the products of other Third World nations are not considered prestigious. Thus, intellectual tradition has combined with commercial patterns to make trade among Third World nations difficult. There have been few efforts to bridge this gap, perhaps in part because Third World publishers have turned to the relatively lucrative and easily reached academic markets in the United States and Britain as an outlet for their scholarly books.

As noted earlier, the lack of the usual infrastructures for book distribution constitutes a severe problem for the dissemination of scholarly books in the Third World. It is often easier for a Nigerian librarian to find out what books have been published on a given topic in Britain or the United States than it is to locate relevant titles published in the Ivory Coast, India or Tanzania. This is simply because there are well-developed bibliographical resources in the industrialized nations, but few such resources in the Third World. Similarly, the major media for scholarly book reviewing, the academic journals, are for the most part published in the West, and these seldom review books published in the Third World. Local journals are few in number and seldom read beyond their nation of publication.

The term *Third World* has been used in this article as if it were possible to generalize broadly about a range of nations which share little except a low per capita income and a common desire to industrialize. There are many differences among Third World nations with regard to scholarly publishing, as well as in most other spheres. Third World nations range from India, which has a large and active publishing industry and which issues a large number of scholarly books each year, to small nations such as Swaziland or Burundi, which have virtually no possibility of creating a viable publishing industry of any kind due to economic realities and a tiny potential reading public.

Several Latin American nations, notably Mexico, Brazil and Argen-

tina, have well-developed publishing industries and manage to issue a substantial number of scholarly books. Latin America constitutes a continental market for scholarly books, and this has helped to stimulate publishing. Such regional markets in other parts of the Third World are only now emerging. Efforts are being made in anglophone and francophone Africa, where the continued use of European languages for scholarly purposes is unquestioned. The situation in Asia is more complex due to the existence of several dominant nations which have so far not attempted to establish regional markets for their books. India is the largest publishing country in the region, and has made some efforts to promote its books. Indonesia has as yet only a small book industry, and its commitment to the use of Bahasa Indonesia as the language of education and publishing limits its access to foreign markets. China has thus far not played an active role in scholarly book publishing in the area. At present, only Latin America has a functioning regional market for scholarly books, and other regions are hampered by the lack of such arrangements for book distribution.

It is fair to say that with the possible exceptions of India, Mexico and Argentina, the scholarly publishing needs of the Third World are not being adequately met, regardless of the language of publishing or even of the origin of relevant books. Commercial publishers simply cannot expend the resources necessary to publish scholarly books, and no agencies have emerged in most countries to fill the gap. It is in this context that a consideration of the present role and future possibilities of the university press is relevant.[13]

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS: ITS ROLE AND POSSIBILITIES

The university press is not the only means of scholarly publishing. Indeed, it has strength mainly in the English-speaking nations of the United States, Canada, and Britain, with toeholds in Japan and a few other industrialized countries. The bulk of the world's scholarly output is no doubt issued by publishers other than universities. Even in the United States, specialized private scholarly publishers have recently found it possible to make a modest profit on academic books and journals, while the university presses have had to cut back because of economic stringency and still operate for the most part at a loss.[14] It should also be recognized that government subsidies to academic libraries in the United States were a key factor in maintaining the profitability of scholarly publishing — even in the nation with the largest university system, scholarly publishing could not take place without indirect subsidy. In the Third World, university publishing is in its infancy and libraries are not as well developed or as

numerous. The reason that the university press is considered at some length in this article is that it offers a unique model for scholarly publishing in the Third World.

Scholarly publishing almost inevitably is an unprofitable undertaking and often requires a direct or indirect subsidy. As one expert noted concerning university presses, "We publish the smallest editions at the greatest cost, and on these we place the highest price, and then we try to market them to people who can least afford them."[15] In the context of the Third World, subsidies are virtually mandatory, and the university press offers a means of accepting outside subsidy — almost inevitably from government sources — and still maintaining independence of judgment and autonomous decision-making. It is almost axiomatic that creative and independent publishing must have a great deal of autonomous judgment. Publishing at its best is a professional activity, and external interference in the direct decisions of a publishing firm can only lower standards. Publishers must, however, be accountable — not only to the scholarly public which will purchase their books, but also to some extent to those who provide subsidies.

While university publishing has a long history — extending from the origins of Oxford University Press in 1478 — it has come into its own in the past century, particularly in the United States, where at least fifty university presses now operate. University presses are well established in relatively few nations. While university presses also exist to a very limited extent in other European countries, they play a small role in publishing in those countries. In much of Europe, scholarly publishing is accomplished by private firms. This is the pattern in the German-speaking countries, in France, and in Holland. In the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, scholarly publishing is carried out both by some general publishing houses (which are, of course, state-owned) and by the publishing arms of various scientific institutes and agencies. The Eastern European model, which is also followed to some extent in other parts of the world (in the United States, for example, the Smithsonian Institute and some other large scientific agencies have their own publishing divisions), may also provide a useful model for the Third World.

In its American manifestation, the university press has as its basic role to publish scholarly books and to distribute them to the relevant audience. Scholarly books are defined broadly to include research monographs, analyses of current problems from a scholarly viewpoint, literary criticism, and the like. In a sense, the university presses try to publish materials of

high quality which are not destined for commercial success (although as direct and indirect subsidies for academic presses have become more limited in recent years, the scholarly publishers have taken commercial viability increasingly into account). The average press run of a university press book is fairly low — 2000 is a common figure — and most scholarly books take three or more years to sell out. University press publications tend to be expensive, in part because of limited printings, and in part because of high-quality production standards and frequently complicated typography.

The American university press emerged at a time when American higher education was declaring its independence from European models and was beginning to emphasize graduate study and research. In a sense, the university press was part of America's effort to declare intellectual independence in the late nineteenth century. It permitted scholarly publishing to develop in the United States at a time when there was little likelihood that private publishers would take on this responsibility. It is not surprising that the early presses emerged at such institutions as Johns Hopkins, Chicago and Cornell — all universities which made a firm commitment to graduate education at the end of the nineteenth century. The "golden age" of the American university press might be considered to be the 1960s and early 1970s, when unprecedented federal funds were available for library purchases and institutions were expanding at a rapid rate. The dissemination of knowledge was a part of this process of growth. The university presses were a useful means of funneling foundation grants and other funds into publishing while still maintaining considerable independence over the publishing operation.

In many respects, the universities of the Third World find themselves in a situation not unlike that of the United States at the turn of the last century. Many Third World universities are moving quickly toward an emphasis on graduate training and research after a long period in which such activities were not emphasized. There is a growing realization that the production of indigenous scientific research and analysis is important. In the social sciences and humanities, indigenous scholarship has been especially emphasized. While links to an international scientific community are still strong, efforts are underway to provide an independent base for research and scholarship. The pressures on Third World universities are immense — to provide undergraduate education to a rapidly growing middle class, to develop graduate programs, to contribute directly to the processes of modernization, and to foster scientific research. Despite these pressures, some universities are moving toward an active research

and scientific environment, from which scholarly publications have begun to emerge.

At the present time, university presses in the Third World are in an early stage of development. A minority of nations has strong university presses, although few if any are in the Western mold completely. Most university presses have as their major task the production of textbooks and related materials for use in higher education. Scholarly publishing is at best an ancillary activity. Even the branches of Oxford University Press engage in much nonscholarly publishing in the Third World. Given the multiple needs of Third World universities, it is likely that university publishing in the "pure" sense of the term is probably impossible, and there will inevitably be a linking of practical services to the educational community with the more narrow but highly important role as a publisher of scholarly books. In most countries, university presses need to take their scholarly roles more seriously, but some kind of balance must be maintained.

The Indian situation will provide an indication of the role of the university press. With approximately 100 universities and 3 million students in postsecondary education, there are perhaps 20 active university presses. The oldest, the University of Calcutta Press, was founded in 1908 and has published more than 1000 titles. Ninety-one institutions of higher education in India indicate that they have some publishing programs, but most of these are inactive or have no relevance to scholarly publishing. The most active university presses issue a small number of scholarly books each year, and confine the bulk of their publishing efforts to the immediate printing needs of their university and to textbooks for classes in the university. There is virtually no cooperation among the university presses, and even the textbooks which are printed for one institution are not generally distributed beyond that institution. The small output of scholarly books is not distributed adequately — distribution efforts are in almost all cases significantly less adequate than those of the private sector publishers. The quality of production is also generally lower than that of private publishers, although prices of university press books tend to be somewhat below those of the commercial house publications. In a few instances, university presses have turned their scholarly books over to private publishers for distribution, but these arrangements have usually not worked out very well.

Most Indian university presses are governed by academic boards composed of administrators and faculty members at the sponsoring institutions. This has to some extent insulated them from direct interference in their

operations, although the pervasive academic politics evident in India has naturally affected the presses as well. Few university presses publish books by faculty members from outside their sponsoring institutions, and virtually none has attempted to build for itself a reputation of excellence in scholarly publishing. The scrutiny given to individual manuscripts which are submitted is limited, and most academic presses have little or no qualified editorial staff to assure high standards of editing or production. In general, support for the presses is limited and it is not unusual for them to earn a small profit for the university or at least save money by printing examination forms and other academic documents. The university presses, in short, have not developed an ethos or a mode of operation which will encourage excellence in scholarly publishing.

A large number of scientific institutions and government agencies also engage in publishing in India, but in general their efforts are not effective in that their books are not adequately distributed and standards of quality are often low. India, unlike most other Third World nations, has a sufficiently well-developed private publishing enterprise, so that the lack of a scholarly publishing apparatus in the universities is not very damaging to the publication of academic and scientific works. It is clear, however, that the nation would be served much better if current efforts by universities and other nonprofit agencies to publish their materials were better handled. In the long run, given the expansion of knowledge and the inherent difficulties of profitably publishing academic work, the emergence of an effective university press network in India is highly advisable.

Other Third World countries are, in general, less well served in terms of scholarly publishing than is India. Most of the scholarly books concerning a country as large as Nigeria are published outside the country or by expatriate firms within Nigeria. The establishment of university presses at two of Nigeria's leading universities during the past decade or so has improved the situation somewhat, but the output of books of most of these presses is very limited — perhaps ten to twenty new titles per year. The university presses are concerned with scholarly publishing, and have the potential of serving an important need, but the universities have not provided their presses with the necessary resources.[16] The situation in Ghana is similar, with the establishment of at least one university press in recent years and the emergence of a government-sponsored publishing house which has taken some interest in scholarly publishing.[17] Francophone African nations are poorly served by indigenous publishers of any sort, and the majority of the very small number of scholarly books published

about these countries is generally published in France and exported back to Africa. Anglophone East Africa has seen the development of several private publishers, sometimes with the assistance of British firms, which have a strong interest in scholarly publishing.

Southeast Asia has seen perhaps the most active development of university presses, with especially strong interest in Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong, where the influence of the British academic model and of Oxford University Press has been strong. The foundation of university presses in two of Malaysia's universities and the commitment of these presses to scholarly publishing have given academic publishing an energetic start. The University of Singapore Press also has a substantial list of scholarly books. In Hong Kong, the English-medium University of Hong Kong has a small but quite active university press, and the new Chinese University has entered the field of scholarly publishing as well. Other Asian nations, such as Taiwan, South Korea and Indonesia, have expressed sporadic interest in university press publishing, and several presses have been established.

Few Latin American universities have scholarly presses as part of their operation, although the University of Buenos Aires Press has been, until the recent political difficulties in Argentina, actively engaged in scholarly publishing of a high standard. Several Mexican universities, including the Autonomous University and the Collegio de Mexico in Mexico City, have established scholarly presses. In most of the region, however, the limited amount of scholarly publishing that occurs is done by private firms.

It is clear that there is a need for more scholarly books in the Third World, as such books constitute one of the underpinnings of an independent intellectual and scientific life. It is also clear that in most Third World nations there is at present an inadequate supply of scholarly books, and that the means required to permit the publication of such books are lacking. There is a growing recognition that research and scholarly publication play an important part in nation-building and development, but there is as yet only a limited understanding of how to foster the necessary publishing apparatus. All of this is at the theoretical level. There is less consensus about whether present conditions in the Third World can absorb more scholarly books — that is, whether the amount of scholarship now taking place and the size of the academic and intellectual communities can organizationally and financially support a scholarly publishing enterprise. As Ronald Barker and Robert Escarpit point out in their analysis of books in the Third World, there is often a difference between the

objective need for books and the ability of a nation to produce and consume such books.[18] However, given the importance of publishing scholarly materials, it is probably better to have a temporary "surplus" of published knowledge than to let market forces take their course.

The dissemination of knowledge in the Third World is a complicated matter.[19] Even at the level of relatively advanced research materials that has been the concern of this article, the issue is multifaceted and relates to such matters as literacy rates, communications networks, the infrastructure of the printing and publishing industries, government policies, the orientation of universities, and other matters.

While scholarly publishing is clearly not the key that will unlock the processes of modernization and development, it is a small part of a total effort to build independent societies in the Third World. The whole process of the creation of an independent intellectual and scientific life has received very little attention in the literature, and the purpose of this article has been to highlight the role of one small element in that process — scholarly publishing — and to indicate how some of the seemingly insurmountable problems associated with it can be handled. Fortunately, the creation of an adequate means of scientific and academic communications in a nation through books and journals is neither very costly nor overwhelmingly difficult. Furthermore, it is a process which is a natural part of the academic enterprise. As universities grow in size and excellence, they will naturally turn to problems not only of creating new knowledge but of communicating this knowledge to the relevant publics.

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The Library and the Third World Publisher: An Inquiry into a Lopsided Development

KALU K. OYEOKU

ECONOMISTS CHARACTERIZE THE Third World as having a low gross national product, very slow increase in per capita income but rapid rise in population, and slow economic growth rate. The Third World includes most of the African, Asian and Latin American countries. These countries also share characteristics in addition to those established by economists, i.e. the experience of having been colonized by another power and only recently assuming independence. What is significant is not their colonial experience, but the relative freshness of that experience. Their economies and cultures, once geared to the objectives of the colonizing power, are still trying to assume a new, perhaps independent, direction. There is a lack of self-reliance and therefore of confidence. This renders them prone to accept aid from the developed countries, although complaints are soon heard of aid inappropriately applied and hard-won independence sorely threatened. These countries display evidence of overreacting to the colonial situation. This overreaction is manifested in a headlong haste to catch up with advanced countries without doing the necessary groundwork, and in an almost wholesale dismantling of institutions established in the colonial days, which, if retained, would have proved beneficial and effective. They also experience great difficulty in breaking into the technological era because of foreign aid.

When the colonizing powers introduced the modern book to the colonial peoples, they had three main objectives in mind: (1) to help develop the colonized people, intellectually and in every other way; (2) to educate the citizens in such a way as to provide the resources for achieving the political and economic objectives of the colonialist; and (3) to propagate within the colony the ideals of the mother country. This was achieved

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by importing books published abroad and by distributing publications produced by the colonial power. With independence, however, the inevitable change in educational objectives occurred and the consequent explosion in student numbers soon followed. The demand for books rose steeply and it was then realized that something had to be done about providing the books needed for achieving the new objectives — first, textbooks to sustain formal education, and later (much later) other books to underpin the formal education. In some countries, for example, India, Ceylon and Japan, there had been a long tradition of the book and of libraries flourishing in religious institutions. This tradition, however, did not grow into a modern library service administered by central governments or local councils for the benefit of the citizens, because the objectives of libraries in religious institutions were severely limited. Thus, in organizing a modern library system, these countries did not work along familiar paths and tended to adopt the system prevalent in the country of their colonial experience.

Modern publishing and librarianship in the Third World have both developed along generally parallel lines with no direct link between them. The establishment of the public library system in Eastern Nigeria is a good example. Before the establishment of this system, library services consisted of reading rooms and the British Council library. The new objective was to provide a library service throughout the region with its base at Enugu. A library board was appointed in 1955 through which the government made funds available. A Unesco expert actively cooperated with the local people to produce a system and a building which were universally acknowledged as a great achievement and as a successful completion of a Unesco "pilot" project. The Eastern Nigeria Library Board fulfills the objectives of library service in Africa as enunciated at the Ibadan seminar:

> (a) to support and reinforce programmes of adult and fundamental education; (b) to provide effective services for children and young people, including requisite services for schools; (c) to provide needed information and reference services; (d) to promote and stimulate reading for pleasure and recreation; (e) to provide, wherever needed, adequate services for special groups.[1]

Both in the enunciation of the objectives and in the actual practice of establishing a public library system, there is the assumption that, as in developed countries, publishers will churn out the books required by these efficient libraries; and it was accepted almost without question that the

foreign books which were flowing into the country were, in fact, suitable books. Thus, in establishing a library, no thought was given to the production of the books that are one of the reasons for the existence of the library.

There is another example which illustrates a forward development from this first stage, where no account is taken of the production of the books that will feed the library system — the East African library system. A preliminary survey was conducted to determine whether the community was ripe for library service. The indicators for this are: (1) a rising number of literates, especially those who have had more than primary education; (2) a clear desire for social and economic improvement by the people; (3) an existing body of literature in suitable language and form; and (4) sufficient economic stability in the country to maintain a service if one is started. These indicators are manifested in educationalists pressing for a continuing access to books, which are the source of knowledge and information for students, and in the local people both wanting to improve their educational standard and persuading authorities of the need for library services.

The result of this survey showed that most of the requisite conditions had been fulfilled. So, in 1945 the East African governments recognized this need and invited an expert to make definite proposals. The resulting report was accepted. A planner was appointed to work out details based on his survey of the educational system, languages in literary use, demand for books and the financial resources available. The system was established, but with two new elements. First, the system not only operated libraries in towns, but also operated a book-box service and a postal service to rural areas, considered to be "one of the most effective ways of promoting reading and making books widely available."[2] Second, the operation was tied in with the publishing activities of the East African Literature Bureau, which is perhaps one of the most successful experiments carried out in stimulating the production and dissemination of books in a developing area. The founders clearly identified three essential objectives of publishing: to stimulate development, to project the culture of the people, and to nurture the local languages.

The more usual situation in the Third World is that the public library is still seen as a center where books are preserved as stores of knowledge so that people in search of knowledge can come and consult them. A certain inability to grasp the close relationship between the goals of libraries and the goals of publishing still exists. There remains a perhaps unwarranted emphasis on publishing as a purely commercial undertaking

and on a book transaction as a commercial transaction. Even university libraries are organized on the premise that the books, in any case, will be forthcoming from foreign countries with established educational traditions. The establishment of the Ibadan University Press is therefore, very interesting. This press began at the Ibadan University Library with a small hand platen press, initially used to meet the printing needs of the library. Later it began publishing scholarly works in all fields. It is interesting that a bookshop was born in the basement of the same library. Even if he did not articulate it, the founding father of that library, John Harris, had demonstrated that the library was the centerpiece of a 3-part program, the others being publishing and bookselling, and that ideally they should coexist.

The main purpose of publishing is to communicate knowledge and information, and therefore the culture of the people, not necessarily to preserve it in the first instance. If preservation were the only function, an author would need only to deposit his manuscript in a library, and the librarian's job would be simply that of "keeping" the manuscript. It is important to understand that the purpose of a library is to disseminate recorded knowledge and information. Thus, the library idea is an extension of the publishing idea, not separate from it. The library service is the follow-through of the publishing process; publishing is successful or unsuccessful to the extent that people read what has been published, not necessarily to the extent of massive profit that the publisher makes. Therefore, the dissemination of books cannot be considered merely a matter of setting up shops in urban areas and selling books over a counter; it cannot be merely a matter of providing a building, staff and stock at a library divisional headquarters. Book dissemination is a neighborhood affair, a socializing process, especially in a situation where there are new literates with a very short tradition of the modern book experience.

From the foregoing, it is logical that the first priority is to develop publishing before the library system, or at the very least to develop them simultaneously. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in a majority of developing countries, the reverse has been the case. It is difficult to account for this, but it is easy to attribute it to colonialism. For example, in the Eastern Nigeria case cited earlier, it can be argued that all the attention was devoted to the establishment of a library system in order to ensure a continuing market for foreign books, especially British books. (At that time the British Council director in the region was the chairman of the library board.) Such an argument is unfair, because the library board was appointed by a Nigerian-dominated legislature. At the time

the Eastern Nigeria Library Board project began, there was no purely indigenous book publisher in Nigeria. All publishing was directed by expatriates. As a result, no strong voice was raised to impress on government or the business community the importance of book publishing. There was no strong personality in the publishing field to initiate action. From the start, there was a local expert in the library field, however; Kalu Okorie, the director of library services, succeeded in putting his views across to the government and was able to interest Unesco in the project. Government usually considers what is brought before it; the publishing field has a serious drawback in not having experts. There are few recognized training courses for publishers. In developing countries, it is of some consequence to be able to cite a recognized training course. The result has been that the publishing field has been unable to argue a strong case effectively, and a society with little publishing and with people who do not understand what it is about needs a strong, articulate spokesman to convince a government to take any action. Another reason for the comparative underdevelopment of publishing may be that the library system can be seen as an organized establishment capable of providing employment in a way understood by the local people, almost like civil service. Consequently, governments can understand it. Publishing is hardly ever understood — although the end product, the book, is. It is the domain of private enterprise. For the business community, there is no clear evidence before them that it is a profitable business. The few people who have tried it, usually as author/publisher, probably did so with the limited objective of making their voices heard on a matter connected with personal opinion. Twenty years after the establishment of the Eastern Nigeria Library Board, there is still no forward movement in the region to stimulate publishing, although the library system grows stronger in spite of changes of government. In twenty years no good case has been made to the government or business community to undertake, sponsor or support publishing; no strong publishing personalities have emerged; the public has not improved its concept or understanding of publishing. The example is all the more interesting coming from a region where literacy is relatively high and the majority of school-age children went to school even before the introduction of universal free primary education. In conclusion, the library has established itself as a potent force in the life of the people. Publishing has not done so, and it is publishing that keeps libraries alive.

By not incorporating publishing into its program as it became established, the library may have fixed in the public mind that books are al-

ways foreign imports and thus that there is no need to produce books domestically. In other words, has the library become a barrier to indigenous publishing? Much investigatory work must be done to answer this question satisfactorily. If a library's policy covers acquisition of whatever is published locally and then makes an effort to draw readers' attention to this material (and, where possible, to popularize it), then the library cannot be accused of not encouraging local publishing. This can only be done where there is some local publishing activity. Where there is none, and the library simply places foreign books in the hands of its readers, it will be regarded as doing a satisfactory job, but may be accused of a lack of imagination. If librarians know that they ought to have indigenous books in their libraries but these books are not being produced, should they be expected to take steps to get those books produced? Is the issue a matter of patriotism or is there a basic structural fault in the establishment of libraries? Perhaps the library ought to go out of its way to encourage and, if possible, to initiate publishing in order to fulfill its functions (cf. the example cited above of the Ibadan University Press). It is, however, doubtful that the function of the library as a disseminating extension of the publishing system, in the context of the people's culture, is clearly understood.

The Third World library, therefore, has lacked the strong impact on publishing which its counterpart in the developed countries enjoys. In the United Kingdom, for example, the public libraries in England and Wales spent over £16 million on books in 1972-73.[3] This enviable position was attained after decades of careful and laborious development of the public library system. Once the principle of the public library was accepted, individuals, local authorities and governments initiated reforms to ensure that adequate provisions were made for the development of libraries. Indeed, in Denmark and Norway it is compulsory for communities to provide sufficient funds to operate public and school libraries. Yet, it is not just reforms and financial resources that have sustained the growth of libraries in developed countries. Three vital elements are also present: the ability, need and time to read. Most of their citizens are sufficiently educated to read and write and to want to read; their social structure, more or less stabilized over the years, is such that they have more time for leisure activities. Thus, these Scandinavian countries have been able to eliminate three major constraints operating in the Third World: (1) absence of publishers in sufficient numbers to be able to exploit subjects of interest to small communities, as well as subjects of universal appeal; (2) lack of interest in (and thus few adherents to) publishing because it is not a

lucrative business; and (3) the high level of illiteracy, and therefore small potential market for publishing and small clientele for libraries.

In order to have a flourishing library system that will have a strong impact on publishing, or a strong publishing system that nourishes the library system along the lines of the developed countries, developing countries can take no shortcut. Patient planning and careful experimentation are needed. Some drastic decisions have to be made. Indeed, there are already examples of the kind of action which can speed up the production and dissemination of books in the Third World. In Malaysia the government decided that instruction in primary schools should be in a local language. This decision had the effect of encouraging production of books by indigenous publishers, who were eminently qualified to do so, for a large captive market. This reduces the overbearing influence of the foreign publishers. The government also took action beneficial to the book trade. Malaysia's Ministry of Education was instructed to order the books directly from the publishers, who supplied them at a discount of 10 percent. The books were distributed to the schools through local booksellers, who received a 12.5 percent commission for service from the publishers. "By providing this service fee to booksellers for merely conveying the textbooks to the schools, the Malaysian Book Publishers Association has shown its goodwill and interest in the development of a healthy and viable bookselling trade, which constitutes an integral part of any national book development programme."[4] In this case, strong government action backed by the Publishers Association's understanding of the local situation has created an encouraging book trade. This is just another step to link up the library system with the existing publisher-education-bookseller complex by establishing school libraries and village libraries (e.g., the Republic of Korea had 10,000 of these in 1967). Like Malaysia, Korea stimulated local publishing by insisting on the use of a local language in the primary schools. It is possible to achieve similar results, for example, by insisting that all literature used in schools and adult education classes must be locally generated from authorship to printing. Undoubtedly there will be some poor-quality work to start with, but in a short time high standards will be attained. It is important to point out that in this example the state did not take over publishing itself. Indeed, in countries such as Ghana and Uganda, where state publishing has been tried, it has not been entirely satisfactory. Thus, one of the steps toward a community provision of book services is for the government, the largest cohesive unit within which the community operates, to make decisions that will stimulate all aspects of the book services.

A second step is to implement fully one of the recommendations of the Unesco-sponsored meeting on book development in Africa held in Accra, Ghana, in February 1968. It was recommended that a Book Development Council be set up within each participating country. Another meeting held in Bogotá, Colombia, in September 1969 recommended the establishment of a Regional Book Development Centre for Latin America. It is not quite clear whether the failure to establish book development councils in many of the countries participating in these meetings was due to the composition of the delegations — government functionaries who saw the meetings as just another conference to attend — or the decision-making machinery in these countries, where a decision at such a conference might be regarded as a low-priority recommendation. Whatever the cause, it is now time that these councils were established on a sound footing.

It has already been noted that libraries have been established without due regard to the production of the books that will feed the library. One of the first functions of a book development council is to ensure that books are produced locally, or with local control; it can then set up a framework within which the book-production and book-dissemination arms can operate in a cooperative fashion. The council should remove those obstacles that have hampered the growth of publishing — lack of technical know-how, expensive paper and distribution bottlenecks, among others. The council should lead the way in experimenting with language, types of publishing, and even types of printing, book design, and distribution techniques. A well-run book development council can only be an asset to a developing country.

A third step is to experiment with development of book trade and libraries on a small scale in smaller community units, rather than on a country-by-country basis. Although the government can help at the national level, as with the establishment of the book councils, it is at the village level that any book effort will have its best return. Moreover, government may be too preoccupied with investment in the fields of conspicuous production to give proper political and economic support to book production, even when it has accepted the principle of the book's importance in national development. As stated earlier, book production and dissemination is a neighborhood affair, in the same way that festivals and all aspects of life that make up the people's culture are neighborhood matters. It therefore makes sense to develop books and libraries, printing firms and bookshops on a small tangible scale, so that the local person

knows what is happening in that neighborhood and can discuss it with others.

In practical terms, perhaps the following process may be adopted in developing books and libraries on a small scale in a locality. First, the government must make the basic decision to establish libraries in local areas. As already shown, libraries are more easily understood as an institution by both government and the public than publishing is. Moreover, the locality is more likely to have experts in the library field than in publishing. The library should then be organized as a local resource center to handle all kinds of media, books, music and tapes. It should have an extension which collects local material — songs, any written material, and oral literature for analysis and arrangement in presentable form. The next step would be to put down on paper what is collected as attractively as possible, and if possible to let local people watch the process of transferring the material to paper. Once this is done, the library popularizes the material not only by showing it to people who come to the library, but by actually taking it to the people in the specific areas where the material was initially collected. It is only a short step from the library putting the material it collected on paper to encouraging other interested persons to do precisely the same thing with the cooperation of the library. This process could be tied up with the local education system — both at school and adult education levels. For example, if the local education authority decided that the primary school textbooks and the readers for the adult education classes should be in the local languages and produced locally, the library might be called in to organize the production of the required books. After producing the books, it could use its outreach channels to distribute them.

This article has attempted to show that Third World countries, by the fact of their history and recent experience, have basic handicaps which retard the growth of book production and dissemination. Reasons why the library has not had a strong impact on publishing, which should be providing the books it requires, have also been discussed. There are some steps which may be taken to stimulate book production, but it is quite clear that the most important factor is the Third World citizen. The Third World citizen is most willing to raise his income and standard of living, but is reluctant to match his eagerness with a change in work habits, values and attitudes. However good plans may be, no useful purpose will be achieved unless these plans can be vigorously and consistently followed.

There are, perhaps, already enough suggestions about how to develop the book field. Over the years, through conferences, reports and expert advice, Unesco has built up a large body of knowledge which can transform the book situation in the Third World within a decade. The problem which has not yet been solved (and for which a solution must be found) is how to get the Third World to match its desires with the hard work that guarantees the achievement of the desires.

In the final analysis, however, whatever aid is pumped into a country and whatever cooperation may be obtained from outside bodies, the best results will be achieved by means of experimentation, trying and failing, and trying again. It is therefore imperative that an organization in each country oversee the book scene in order to provide direction and encouragement. A national book council, made up of librarians, publishers and booksellers, together with a few government functionaries, will meet this need.

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Ideology, Economics and Reader Demand in Soviet Publishing

G.P.M. WALKER

IN ANY INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON, Soviet book publishing stands out on several counts. The first is scale: not only the scale of book copies published, but administrative scale. Publishing, printing and book distribution, with a combined personnel of well over 300,000, are administered in many respects as a single undertaking. The organizational structure and control techniques used in this administration are much more elaborate (by approximately an order of magnitude) than those applying in Western publishing.

This great accretion of centralized administrative power is the product of persistent efforts by the Communist party and the Soviet government to place the processes of book production and dissemination under a considerable degree of supervision — a degree which is, again, prominent in international comparisons. This commitment to effective supervision reflects the importance attributed to the role of publishing in a socialist society, and to the need for books produced under such supervision to be made readily accessible.

Soviet views expressed in print about the status and purposes of publishing are by no means unanimous in their emphasis. The principles of "Party spirit," "closeness to the people" and direction by Party and government are not placed in public question; but other matters quite fundamental to the ideological function and economic status of book publishing are under active debate, although dominant or more deeply established views are often discernible. This article examines some of the more important prevailing assumptions and disputes about publishing as an industry: demand and pricing; profit and subsidy; quality, effectiveness and "optimality"; and the power of the reader.

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PUBLISHING AS AN INDUSTRY

There is general acceptance in the Soviet Union that publishing, like other mass media, is in some sense a cultural activity. The State Committee for Publishing, Printing and the Book Trade (the ministry-level agency which administers these industries) is often classified as an organ of cultural organization, alongside the Ministry of Culture of the USSR, the State Committee for Television and Radio, the State Committee for Cinematography, and the Committee for Physical Culture and Sport. To a much greater degree than the other mass media, however, Soviet publishing depends on a considerable industrial capacity to fulfill its cultural and ideological purposes: over 87,000 books and pamphlets, in about 1.7 billion copies, were issued in 1974.[1] The question of publishing's place in the Marxist analysis of production relations continues to arouse controversy which throws some interesting light on Soviet views of the function of publishing, despite the restricted premises on which the argument is conducted.

It is common opinion among modern Soviet commentators on the subject, that a book, though a commodity, is a special kind of commodity; and secondly, that its status in a socialist society is qualitatively different from its status under capitalism. It is claimed that a Soviet author does not sell a product (as an author would to a capitalist publisher), because the fee he receives is for the use of his work in the interests of all society; whereas the capitalist publishing house has the two aims of maximum profit and of serving the interests of bourgeois society.[2] An excessively profit-oriented approach to publishing, at the expense of what are regarded as the interests of a socialist society, is often warned against; and the admonition has been made that to inflate a publishing house's profits by such devices as increasing the issue of books in heavy demand, or simplifying the design of a work, is to satisfy "commercial interests on an unhealthy basis."[3]

It is maintained in one line of argument that in a socialist society, the value of a book, and hence of a publishing house's production, is determined basically by its ideological content. Demand and profitability cannot be allowed to be the sole guides in the matter of which books to publish; otherwise highly specialized works and books in minority languages (to cite two common examples) would never appear.[4] Due to the peculiar nature of the value of its products, this argument continues, the economics of publishing cannot be directly compared with those of most manufacturing industries.[5]

Another argument is that a book also has a value derived from the

expenditure on its production, since production cost is one of the elements (though not the only one) in a book's retail price; and that, for this reason, although the book is an ideological commodity and the chief aim of publishing a work is to achieve a desired social impact, a publishing house's economics may nevertheless be discussed in the same terms as those applied to the remainder of industrial undertakings, and these terms need not have the "purely conventional significance" usually attributed to them in evaluating ideological work.[6] A refinement (perhaps an overrefinement) of this view is that the sale for money of books whose purpose is ideological shows the dialectical relationship between ideology and economics in publishing.[7]

The idea of the book as a "direct force in production," which can contribute measurable improvements to the country's economic performance, has been aired by several Soviet writers. One has gone so far as to estimate savings achieved in the construction industry through the use of certain works on improved organization, and others[8] have calculated that engineering plants could gain 8450 rubles per year by improved performance from each machine tool to which they applied the advice in the book *Adaptivnoe upravlenie stankami* (issued by Mashinostroenie in 1973). One scholar has taken this line of thought to the point of suggesting that a loss-making book should have its losses made good by a deduction from the profits of the industry in whose interests it was published.[9] The difficulty of applying such calculations to the great majority of books is obvious; but this view of the book (or of some books) as having a determinable effect on the economy remains as one of the arguments used to justify the publication of loss-making works.

DEMAND AND PRICING POLICY

The place of reader demand in book publishing has received equivocal treatment in the USSR. It has generally been agreed, as a corollary of the arguments already summarized, that undifferentiated satisfaction of "raw" demand, as expressed in prepublication orders and queues in bookshops, is not the primary aim of socialist book publishing. Concern is nevertheless expressed about the shortage of books in certain fields — at present particularly fiction and children's books — and about the importance of ensuring the "correct" proportion of each type of book in the total output. It was claimed in 1975 by a deputy chairman of the State Committee for Publishing of the Ukrainian SSR, that supply is further behind demand in publishing than in any other sphere of production aimed at satisfying mental needs.[10]

Some Soviet commentators have applied to publishing the distinction between "demand" and "need," arguing that publishing should be guided by needs rather than by demand and (concomitantly) profit. A theme which frequently accompanies this suggestion is that the tastes of the Soviet people must be "formed," a process in which publishers are said to have an important role. Demand, in other words, must be educated to become more closely identical with authoritatively defined needs; and the book trade has on occasion been accused of placing over-large orders for "time-honored" works which presumably reflect uneducated demand.[11]

One reputable Soviet economist, L.S. Gliazer, has maintained that readers' needs cannot be accurately measured for the purposes of economic decisions, and that it is their solvent demand which should be measured, and which ought to form the basis for determining a pricing structure and fixing rational volumes of production for different types of literature.[12] The approved view of retail pricing policy in Soviet publishing is, however, well removed from that of Gliazer, who appears to be advocating that prices should reflect the state of the market and should, if necessary, be adjusted to alter the demand pattern. The existing price system is regarded by its supporters as an important means of giving effect to a book's ideological function, by ensuring that books intended to be widely accessible bear low prices, although this may lead to titles and even entire publishing houses experiencing a loss and requiring a subsidy. This policy consciously denies itself the use of higher prices either as a means of limiting demand or as a stimulus to publishers' economic performance.[13]

Book retail prices in the Soviet Union were set separately by each publishing house until 1952, when a succession of standard national price lists became enforced. Although the price lists have given some recognition to quality of paper and binding, and to the presence of illustrations or color printing, their major principle of differentiation, which has increased in detail over the years, is subject matter. The price list now in force, introduced in 1972, enumerates 191 different types of books and pamphlets according to subject and intended readership, compared with 129 in the superseded list of 1965.[14] The principles on which the retail price lists are drawn up have never been stated in detail. Production costs for each type of literature are only one consideration, but it is accepted that for most types of books, the retail price (less the wholesale discount of 25 percent) should enable the publisher to cover production costs and make a profit.[15] The production cost element in retail prices is based on average costs and edition sizes for each of the types of work on the price list.

Provision is made for works published in small editions to be given

retail prices of up to ten kopeks per sheet to avoid a loss. (The basic range of prices is between two kopeks and seven kopeks per sheet, with school textbooks as low as one kopek per sheet. A sheet is approximately equivalent to sixteen pages in an average-format book.) Particularly expensive works may be given a price founded directly on production costs, plus a profit of not more than 15 percent, if issued with the explicit permission of the State Committee for Publishing.[16] These exceptional cases apart, however, book retail pricing is not an integral part of the annual and longer-term planning cycles in the publishing industry. Prices are not automatically altered to account for rises in printing and paper costs, although charges for printing and paper have formed an increasing proportion of publishers' production costs, rising from 46.3 percent in 1947 to 73.3 percent in 1967 in a selection of central publishing houses.[17]

Beyond statements of the general principle that the retail price should not hamper the book's circulation among the group of readers for which it is intended, no description has been found of the considerations other than production cost which determine, for example, that mass political literature shall be given a price per sheet of about one-third that given to scholarly monographs. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems likely that production costs are the most important factor in retail price-setting, but that political, or purely traditional, views on low book prices are allowed to be an overriding consideration in the case of certain types of publication only (perhaps most outstandingly school textbooks and works in minority languages).

PROFITS AND SUBSIDIES

As has already been stated, profit and loss are not admitted to be overriding considerations in Soviet publishing. Efficient economic performance by publishing houses is frequently stressed, however, and profitability is one of the yardsticks used to assess it. Profitability has received increased emphasis since the publishing industry began to transfer to a new planning and incentive system at the end of the 1960s. The Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a decree in 1970 on improving the profitability of book publishing in which it was noted that the state budget was currently receiving profits of 120 million rubles annually from book and journal publishing, but that subsidies to publishing houses, running at over 9 million rubles a year, were unacceptably high.[18] Nevertheless, by 1976, 41 publishing houses were still operating at a loss (just over one-fourth of the total number), and the sum of their annual losses was still about 9 million rubles. The provincial publishers and those in the

peripheral republics showed the highest proportion of loss-makers, and in 1975 publishing as an industry was profitable in only seven of the fifteen union republics.[19] (Disguised subsidies in the form of cheap capital have less impact on publishing than on most Soviet industries, since publishers' capital requirements are relatively low.)

Books, like most other forms of printed matter in the USSR (except calendars, picture reproductions and postcards), are not subject to the "turnover tax" which is levied on most goods; but the deduction of a large part of an enterprise's profits to the state budget is, of course, a different form of taxation, and publishing houses are subject to this just as other enterprises are if their profits are substantial enough to warrant it. The state can, of course, deduct "surplus" profit at any figure it considers appropriate, so the fact that a publishing house escapes turnover tax does not necessarily (in fact, does not) mean that it can retain more profits. Publishing houses and printing enterprises subordinated to the central administration of the State Committee for Publishing passed on to the state 395 million rubles out of the 514 million rubles profit secured between 1971 and 1973, i.e. 76.8 percent.[20]

The enhanced role given to profit under the economic reform has been accompanied in the Soviet publishing industry by attempts to make profit act as an incentive for improving a book's quality and social impact, and for ensuring that the titles in a publishing house's annual plan are issued on schedule. So far, however, it has not proved possible to make profit other than directly dependent upon production costs, overheads and deductions to the state budget on the one hand, and upon income from sales on the other. Quality (as distinct from salability) and adherence to the annual publishing plan have had to be made conditions for the award of full bonuses to publishing-house personnel.[21]

QUALITY, EFFECTIVENESS AND OPTIMALITY

Although the importance of profits as an indicator in plan fulfillment has been enhanced, the two most important yardsticks by which fulfillment is judged, in the case of publishing houses, remain (1) the annual plan of titles to be issued, and (2) the total physical volume of output, measured in printed sheet-copies (i.e. the amount of paper used in one book, multiplied by the number of copies in the edition). It has been pointed out by Soviet publishing administrators that none of the many indicators applied to the planning and analysis of publishing work enables any reliable assessment of the quality of a book's contents. Qualitative criteria, by which a publishing house's superior organ could assess the

ideological, scientific or even literary worth of the house's output, are regarded as highly desirable, but have yet to emerge in any trustworthy form. The suggestion has been made that, instead of measuring output in printed sheet-copies, which only show the amount of paper used, the unit of publisher's sheet-copy should be used. Since a publisher's sheet equals 40,000 typographical units, measurement by this means would at least show the amount, if not the quality, of the text.[22]

Another proposal has been that a "coefficient of effectiveness" should be calculated for each title, putting a value on its importance to the subject and the standard of its treatment, and that this value should be incorporated into planning indicators, as well as into authors' fees and book prices.[23] The fact that this elaborate superstructure turns out to rest ultimately on a personal, even if "expert," opinion of each work, points up the difficulty of finding a consistent measure for some notional worth of a book which does not depend on either volume of demand or sales revenue. The most recent Soviet attempt at establishing criteria for the "effectiveness" of publishing admits to two assumptions: that a house's publication plan "fully expresses social needs," and that demand is 100 percent correctly forecast.[24] That the quest for such criteria continues in the USSR suggests a persisting desire to find a means of judging a work definitively before it is entrusted to the possibly unreliable verdict of the reading public.

Some had hoped to see optimal planning methods become widespread in the printing and publishing sector as a result of the Soviet economic reforms. Optimal planning was canvassed as a procedure which would use mathematical methods to allow the choice of the most effective use of economic resources in achieving the planners' intentions. The application of these methods has, however, been as limited in the field of publishing as in most other sectors of Soviet industry. All the optimal planning procedures discussed for publishing since the economic reform began take as a starting point the publishing house's finalized annual publication plan; that is, optimal planning is assumed to begin only in the choice of subordinate alternatives, after the most significant decisions have been made on which titles will be published, how much paper and printing capacity will be allocated to the publisher, and what his output target will be.[25] Although publishing houses retain a measure of discretion in their choice of manuscripts (subject to their superior organ's approval), the allocation of materials and production facilities is effectively out of their hands; and since publishers cannot influence demand through a flexible pricing system, they are reduced to manipulating the edition size (*tirazh*) of each

book title (the only important planning variable remaining to a considerable degree under their own control) in order to achieve maximum profits.

The idea of "optimality" recently appeared in a different context when the State Committee for Publishing began studies to establish what are described as the "optimal proportions" of different types of publications and different subjects in the total output of printed matter. These proportions are now being planned at all-Union and republic levels more systematically than before. At least one union republic has concluded that it must choose between compiling a single combined plan for the issue of every title in the republic itself, and regulating publishing houses' own plans to achieve the most desirable proportions. This republic has chosen the latter course — presumably because the former would appear to remove the raison d'être of the publishing house itself. The criteria for determining these "optimal proportions" have not been stated, but publication plans for 1976-80, which are said to express optimal judgments, suggest that the degree of unsatisfied reader demand has strongly influenced the way in which existing proportions are to be altered.

One of the most significant recent steps in this process of shifting priorities has been the reversal of the mid-1960s decision to expand production of journals and newspapers at the expense of books, because periodicals were allegedly more efficient as sources of information. The precise evidence on which the original decision was based (and which effectively caused the entire amount of growth in paper supplies during the second half of the 1960s to be devoted to increasing the number of copies of periodicals issued[26]) has not — so far as is known — been made public. The effects of that decision are nevertheless indicated by publishing statistics. Between 1960 and 1970, the annual number of copies of journals issued increased by 246 percent, of newspapers by 108 percent, and of books by only 6 percent.[27]

During the period 1975-80, however, the State Committee for Publishing intends to devote the entire amount of planned increase in its paper supplies to raising the output of fiction, and is adopting several other measures to increase the amount of children's books, textbooks and reference works at the expense of categories of publication in less demand.[28] This action has not yet been accompanied by any public discussion of the reasons why the supply of fiction, which has long been very far behind demand, should be permitted such a substantial improvement at this particular juncture. The surmise seems justified that the degree of underfulfillment of orders for fiction has become so blatant and widely criticized that pressure from publishers, and more indirectly from readers,

has in this instance convinced the Central Committee's Department of Propaganda and the State Committee for Publishing that undersupply has gone far enough.

THE POWER OF THE READER

It appears to be the case that certain powerful and pervasive convictions are present among senior policy-makers in the Soviet publishing administration, and that policy decisions tend to follow or express these convictions. Among these convictions are: that publishing should be strictly regulated by the Party and the state; that it should reflect the views of Party and state about what should be read; and that Soviet citizens should be encouraged to read the books produced under this supervision. These convictions are reflected in the importance attached to reading as a factor in forming the individual's social consciousness, and a considerable amount of work has been done in the USSR on questions touching on the sociology of the book and the psychology of reading. Some of it has been criticized for a failure to study means of influencing the individual's choice and pattern of reading; and it has been remarked that Soviet cultural administration should take account of an alleged drop in "social forms of cultural consumption" in favor of "individual" forms of such consumption, which — like reading — are domestic and passive in character and harder to place under social supervision.[29]

Rather ironically, some of this research into reading and the use of books in contemporary Soviet society appears to have had a powerful influence on publishing policy by providing, for the first time, well-grounded and voluminous evidence of the difficulties which so many Soviet readers experience in gaining access to the books they want. The widest discussion so far has been aroused by a study of books and reading in small towns undertaken by the Lenin Library in 1969-71.[30] The most pressing of its conclusions was generally taken to be that the growth of readers' requirements was "coming into contradiction with" opportunities for meeting those requirements, particularly in the case of readers not living in the larger cities. The frequency with which the work's figures and conclusions have subsequently been cited by senior individuals in Soviet publishing circles when speaking of the need for improved book supplies suggests that it carried weight in the adoption of the measures taken in 1975 to economize in the use of paper and alter the composition of book production.

At the same time, a separate force exists outside the policy-making procedures of the Party, the State Committee for Publishing and the pub-

lishing houses which exercises a considerable influence on their decisions. This is constituted by the potential purchasers and potential readers — two overlapping though not identical groups. The influence exerted by these groups stems from the fact that the very nature of publishing, in the USSR as in the West, requires the maximum amount of output to be bought (leaving aside unpriced publications, which even in the USSR are not widespread). As the director of the Lenin Library has observed, a book is a social phenomenon: if it remains unread, it is only a packet of paper.[31] Although certain groups of readers are more or less compelled to acquire certain types of book (e.g., students following a particular course, or an enterprise needing instructions to maintain equipment), a great deal of published matter must rely to some degree on its intrinsic merits to attract the purchaser to buy and the reader to read — although, of course, a variety of external constraints and incentives can also be applied. The fact that paper shortages and book-pricing policies have combined to make Soviet book publishing at present a seller's market does not alter the fact that a market relationship exists. The millions of individual decisions to buy or not to buy collectively apply a separate range of constraints and incentives on the publishing industry and its administrators. To this is added the more direct stimulus that publishers are liable to booksellers for one-half the value of books remaining unsold in the bookshops.

An increasing awareness of pressure from this direction is shown by the growing attention being paid in the USSR to the study and forecasting of reader demand by departments of the State Committee for Publishing, the All-Union Book Chamber, the Moscow Polygraphic Institute and other bodies. This forecasting is explicitly concerned with demand, rather than with any officially defined "needs," which suggests that Soviet "reader power" is beginning to prove a partial counterpoise to administrative rulings on what ought to be read.

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Canada's Developing Book-Publishing Industry

TOIVO ROHT

To AN OUTSIDER, Canadian book publishing must seem very strange indeed. Aside from the fact that each of the two official languages in Canada — English and French — has its own distinct industry operating in different ways in separate markets, the kind of attention that was focused on Canadian publishers and Canadian publishing in recent years must have created an even more confusing picture than before. This article will attempt to examine the English-language segment of the industry with a view to understanding how it is possible, in a country as highly developed and sophisticated as Canada, to encounter the seeming anomaly of a book-publishing industry that in many ways still appears to be in its early stages of development.

The 1960s was a decade of turmoil and rapid change throughout the world, particularly in the United States. Being so closely linked to its southern neighbor that many people feel — or even believe — the two countries are one, Canada shared the events (and in large measure, the effects) that washed over the United States during that turbulent period. Perhaps there were "regional" differences between Canada and the United States, and certainly there was far less violence in Canada, but essentially the same characteristics governed the temper of the times: struggle for civil rights, desire to end the war, dissatisfaction with most institutions, and mobility which brought more people together in new and strange places. It was a time of young people whose restlessness, incessant questioning, naïveté and intensity colored everything.

One other significant event distinguished Canada from the United States in the 1960s — in 1967 Canada celebrated its centennial as a confederation. Unlike the U.S. Bicentennial in 1976, which largely seems to

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have been considered as a nonevent, the Canadian centenary was hugely successful. In memory at least, the centennial became symbolized around the world by the Montreal Expo 67 on the jewel-like islands in the Saint Lawrence River. For Canada's young people especially, who were crossing the country by every means of conveyance imaginable, the centennial provided an unusual opportunity to discover the country and to feel pride in it. That year, in other words, gave direction to and support for Canadian nationalism.

Wanting to express the views debated so hotly on the campuses, the ideas and ideologies for or against which they demonstrated almost endlessly, these energetic, intelligent and youthfully impatient people encountered the slow-moving traditions (in their view) of the established book-publishing industry. The industry initially behaved toward them in much the same way as did the other institutions with which they felt dissatisfaction. There was, perhaps, a greater degree of frustration involved, because the appetite of youth for public limelight had been whetted by the other media which had been paying so much attention to them.

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF CANADIAN PUBLISHING

Before going any further, the history of Canadian book publishing should be traced here.[1] Curiously enough, the development of the Canadian English-language book-publishing industry during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries followed quite closely the pattern that now distinguishes North American book trade from the older European system. In the province of Quebec, however, the French-language publishers are more closely related to the European model, which is based on the practice of using retail stores to supply virtually all needs. (Indeed, the Quebec government legislated measures in 1971 intended to aid in the development of the retail store system.) In any case, the earliest beginnings of the Canadian book-publishing industry were directly linked to the printing industry — as were those in most other countries, particularly when the printing press also had links with a retail book and stationery outlet.

The first establishment, not surprisingly, was opened in 1751 in Halifax, where the colonists had first touched land. As the settlers moved west, Quebec City, Montreal and, before the turn of the century, Upper Canada (Ontario) all had their own operations. By 1850, however, Toronto had begun to assert itself and soon became the center of English-language publishing in Canada.

It seems amazing that any publishing industry was able to grow at all

in Canada during those early years; several obstacles hindered its development. Canada was a colony of Britain and governed by British laws, and furthermore, lying next to the United States, it was the object of U.S. commercial tentacles which were unhesitatingly extended into its populated areas. The Canadian publishers' most severe handicap appears to have been the Colonial Copyright Act passed in London in 1847 (commonly called the Foreign Reprints Act). This law prevented the colonists from producing cheap reprints of British books but contained a clause permitting them to import such editions — presumably in the expectation that the British publishers would sell their products in Canada. However, since the law could not control American publishers, they proceeded to flood the Canadian markets with cheap reprints, which undermined any Canadian publishing endeavors (even though they may have been a boon to the book-buying public). In addition, the act encouraged Canadian authors to seek London or New York publishers, since their work received no protection from piracy if published in Canada.

Not until 1875 was imperial assent given to a colonial copyright law which stipulated Canadian "domicile" for authors and required local manufacture of their books. For a while, Canadian publishers used this law to retaliate against the Americans by pirating popular American authors' works. Among the more notable victims was Mark Twain, whose works appeared in over forty different printings of Canadian editions bearing sixteen different imprints. These cheap, unauthorized editions flooded U.S. markets, primarily through direct-mail sales. Ultimately, this activity helped to convince U.S. publishers to work out a copyright agreement with the British, even though the United States did not join Britain in signing the Berne Convention, which established international copyright in 1887.

The result was that piracy immediately disappeared, and Canadian publishers began to acquire British and American lines as exclusive agents in Canada. This meant that the publisher would import quantities of finished books or sheets to be bound in Canada, or — if the sales potential were great enough — might even print it in Canada with the agent's own imprint. The Canadian publisher was rarely able to obtain the rights to sell throughout North America, because U.S. publishers could outbid him due to their greater marketing capabilities. It was not unusual, however, for the reverse to happen: a U.S. publisher might obtain North American rights for a title from a British publisher who had a Canadian agent. Nevertheless, the trade grew; and because the agency business was relatively profitable, the Canadian publisher sometimes began to devote most

of his energies to the task of marketing books throughout his territory and gave less time to the more demanding, and probably less profitable, publishing of original books. As the twentieth century approached, the agency-type of publishing activity took strong hold in Canada.

Then a new wave of publishers entered the scene. These publishers were Canadian-trained in the houses that had struggled through the days of piracy and vigorous original publishing, as well as days of the new agency representation of British and American houses. Most of them determined to be jobbers and distributors first, thereby becoming established before they began to seek out new writers to publish.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

More than a dozen new companies in as many years were established in Toronto. While there were Canadian houses, like the University of Toronto Press (founded in 1901) and McClelland and Goodchild (1906; later to become McClelland and Stewart), most of them were Canadian branch offices of well-known British houses, such as Oxford University Press (1904) and the Macmillan Company of Canada (1906). Their sales representatives were soon making regular trips across the sparsely settled country out to the west coast, following the large waves of immigrants who came to Canada during that period. With the growth of public libraries established with equal amounts from Andrew Carnegie trust funds and locally subscribed monies, business was brisk. Increased sales soon led to uniform reprint series of popular Canadian literature, matching the well-known British reprint series which were in great demand around the country. Eventually, these publishers also gave new direction and vigor to the state of Canadian literature.

Thus, the shape of Canadian trade publishing was established. Although the book business after 1900 boomed during the war years and sagged between them, succeeding generations of publishers revitalized the industry by directing new energies toward the discovery and publishing of new Canadian authors. The only really significant difference between the beginning of the period and its end is that the influence and strength of the British publishing companies in Canada and the cultural heritage they represent have diminished, and their share — and more — has been captured by the U.S. publishing industry. American publishers discovered the importance of the Canadian market during the postwar depression in the late 1940s. Those were difficult years for Canadian publishers, because costs and services mounted dramatically, increasing publishers' dependency on marketing their agency lines and reducing the volume of original pub-

lishing because of the higher risks involved. An alternative response was to turn attention to increased educational publishing, which was expected to prosper with the growing population following World War II. Essentially, it was that market which the Americans also sought.

SCHOOLBOOK PUBLISHING

The publishing of textbooks — now called learning materials — had traditionally constituted the most lucrative side of publishing in Canada, even though trade publishing may be the most visible and publicly fascinating. Ontario, long the largest and most influential province of Canada, frequently has also been the trend-setter in the educational field, at least until recently. Egerton Ryerson, who gave his name to Ryerson Press, could thus be considered the real father of the Canadian educational system while serving as Ontario's Superintendent of Education from 1844 to 1874. Ryerson gave shape and direction to what had been chaotic, bringing about a uniformity which allowed publishers the opportunity to produce greater quantities of books.

Although there were several important changes in the Canadian educational system, the system of schoolbook publishing remained largely unchanged until World War II. Because the ministry of education commissioned teachers to write the textbooks and then tender the printing of them, publishers were forced into a printing-production mold rather than the active one of creative publishing; there were, however, notable exceptions. Just prior to the outbreak of World War I, the entire system had been made more rigid by reducing the number of textbooks to an average of one per course, and in order to reduce costs, these prescribed texts remained in force for at least seven, but frequently fifteen, years, and twenty years was not unusual. For publishers fortunate enough to land contracts for these texts, it seemed virtually a license to print money, in that sales to all pupils were assured year after year. Though there was not the same possibility of abusing the system when it was changed to the use of authorized texts developed by the publishers themselves (normally involving very considerable initial investments in money and time to test the books), the book — if authorized — could make the house very profitable.

AMERICANIZATION

With the advent of television, the "Americanization" of Canada seemed to assume a graver proportion. Publication costs soared, yet the risks were clearly worth taking, because soaring school populations made

potential rewards that much greater. It became apparent that only the larger local houses could continue to hope for survival, as the American houses were welcomed because they could supply the Canadian school system with the highest quality textbooks based on the most current, carefully tested research available. This ability was actually far beyond the means of Canadian textbook publishers. Even though the regulations for authorization of books might stipulate that Canadian-authored and -manufactured books be used wherever possible, it was not uncommon for the Canadian branch of a large American house to adapt a U.S. textbook to Canadian conditions. This was sometimes as relatively simple as substituting a Canadian flag for Old Glory in a primary reader, or Canadian counterparts for U.S. coins or stamps used as illustrations in a math book.

It was becoming an increasingly messy situation, and some Canadian publishers began to feel desperate. The main crunch, however, came with the so-called knowledge explosion, which in Ontario brought about calls for change from the educational community. Educators were dissatisfied with the existing situation in Ontario in comparison to developments in the United States, toward which many of them were oriented. The result was the establishment of a Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, which in 1967 published their recommendations in a report entitled *Living and Learning*. It seemed to suit the spirit of the times and the exuberance of the many innovations displayed at Expo 67, and achieved the very unusual status for a government document of becoming a bestseller.

THE IMPACT OF EDUCATIONAL DECENTRALIZATION

Some of the report's recommendations had already begun to creep into the school system in the early 1960s, but changes had been relatively gradual. Even so, they may have been too rapid for the textbook publishers. One of the committee's recommendations was that the ministry should improve its communications with the industry through the publishers' association. The publishers had little recourse to the ministry of education, and were therefore unprepared for what was to follow: the change, virtually overnight, from a centralist, authoritarian system to a decentralized one based on a dozen regional school boards.

This basic characterization of the new system applied both on the pedagogic and administrative levels. When the single prescribed textbook system was abolished in 1960, the list of authorized textbooks contained 61 titles; by 1964 the number had risen to 462; and for the 1971-72 school

year, 1648 titles were listed. The authority to select books was vested in the school boards, as was the authority to establish courses to suit local needs and individual interests, abilities and differences. Teachers did not need to rely solely on textbooks; they could also use a variety of other materials, such as television, films, slides and kits. Indeed, they did not need to have a textbook or books for their course — only a suggested reading list for the pupils.

Administratively, the so-called stimulation grants, given each pupil to permit the schools to buy books, were abolished in 1968 and the boards were provided with a single legislative grant and the authority to budget according to their own needs. In practice, this meant that local administrators were able to determine and meet their own priority needs; for that reason, teachers and other staff were paid during salary disputes and other immediate needs were satisfied, but never, it seemed to the publishers, were there any funds left over to acquire schoolbooks.

The educational publishing industry was in very serious trouble, because there was no way to find all the authors to write all the new books necessary to meet new course requirements, and then to test this new material. Even if it had been possible, the development and production costs could never be recovered from the drastically reduced markets. Under these circumstances, it was virtually impossible for the Canadian houses to survive the fierce competition with American companies that were frequently members of huge conglomerates like CBS, Xerox or Litton.

THE NEW PUBLISHERS OF THE 1960s

Such was the climate and condition of the Canadian book-publishing industry in the late 1960s when young activists sought publishers for their manuscripts. They were usually too impatient to wait for the traditionally slow wheels of the publishing industry to turn, and they did not understand the plight of the industry at that time — nor did they particularly care. They discovered instead that with modern technology, it was not only relatively cheap but very easy to get into book publishing. Overnight, dozens of small publishing operations sprang up in basements of student cooperative residences, private homes, coach houses and reclaimed warehouses, publishing their own and their friends' works. Since they were in very close tune with the times and lacked traditional encumbrances which might otherwise have slowed publishing processes, these young new publishers, to their own surprise, found themselves saddled with success. With success came the need to adopt some of the more traditional business prac-

tices, and more importantly, to have financial resources (or at least access to them) to permit the enterprise to grow physically.

In 1968, a number of these young publishers approached the Canadian Book Publishers' Council in the hope that, through membership, they would acquire some of the benefits derived from trade associations which would permit them to become experienced, professional publishers. Progress was slow, however, because the closed circle of professionals found it more important to solve their own internal problems — that ultimately could affect thousands of people — than to grant admission to amateur publishers who could not even pay their own way.

CONCERN ABOUT FOREIGN TAKEOVERS

The fast pace of the times changed the course of events drastically through an incredible series of coincidences that occurred in 1970. The pressures of the educational difficulties forced W.J. Gage Ltd. (Canada's largest and then one of its oldest textbook publishers) to be sold to U.S. interests. The announcement received a great deal of attention from the media, already aware of the problems of the Canadian publishing industry; the primary focus, however, was on the small new houses and the characterization was nationalistic. (It was very easy to point a finger at the large "imperialistic" conglomerates who, with other parts of themselves in other parts of the world, were helping to bomb a country into oblivion.) Four weeks later, Ryerson Press was sold to a large U.S. publisher's Canadian subsidiary — McGraw-Hill. Owned by the United Church of Canada, Ryerson Press was operated at that time basically for the publication and distribution of the church's own literature. It was a mere shadow of its former glory when it had shaped Canada's literary destiny — but Ryerson Press was nevertheless Canada's oldest existing publishing house. The announcement of its sale to foreign interests brought immediate and widespread reaction from the public.

While Ryerson Press became the symbol of the problems facing the Canadian publishing industry, and rallied people to commemorative marches and the establishment of an Emergency Committee of Canadian Publishers comprised of many of the young publishing houses, the publishing industry itself became the focal point of the Canadian nationalists for whom it represented all the ills facing the country as a result of the open-arms policies toward foreign investment. In early 1971 the nationalists set up a Committee for an Independent Canada. In regard to the two sales, however, there was so much public reaction — meetings, public

forums, even demonstrations — that the Ontario government took action by setting up a 3-member Royal Commission on Book Publishing a month after the Ryerson sale was announced.

A further result was the establishment of a new trade association growing out of the emergency committee, which soon grouped most of the small, young houses that had sprung up all over the country, and broke away from Toronto as the center of English-language publishing. This group, the Independent Publishers Association, was primarily political and very effective in attracting media attention in its various nationalistic statements. It was also effective in attacking the old association, whose membership had always been determined on the basis of professionalism rather than nationality of ownership; suddenly foreign-owned companies, and especially U.S. houses, became targets of attack. The term *branch plant* took on derogatory connotations. Everywhere attention focused on book publishers, and the hearings of the royal commission were invariably crowded.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION AND GOVERNMENT ACTION

Very shortly after the royal commission began its study of this complex industry, Jack McClelland, the flamboyant head of Canada's most active and creative trade publishing house, called a press conference in early 1971 at which he announced that, owing to financial difficulties, he was forced to sell McClelland and Stewart, which might mean sale to foreign interests. Public reaction to the problems of the industry was enormously heightened because of this announcement, and many people began to feel the problems had reached panic level.

The royal commission very quickly came down with an interim recommendation which provided McClelland and Stewart with a subsidized loan equaling almost 1 million dollars. However, the problems of the industry were not yet over, for during the following few months the royal commission unearthed an attempted takeover of the entire distribution network for mass-market paperbacks and periodicals by interests owned by two Missouri families. The commission's findings led to another interim recommendation, this one controlling the ownership of distributors. The provincial government acted positively on both recommendations.

Canada's federal government also went into action, albeit with some reluctance, since general opinion was then still opposed to the idea of any kind of governmental involvement in a private commercial sector which had always prided itself on its independence. Also, there was a general

unwillingness to have the federal government act on a national scale in areas which had traditionally or constitutionally been the jealously guarded domain of the provincial legislatures. Only the province of Quebec had already begun to establish a comprehensive cultural policy as a desperate measure to safeguard the language and culture of a small French-speaking island in the vast English-language sea around them. And the French Canadian efforts were creating fears and hostilities which appeared to support the federal government's reluctance to deal with national cultural policy or the problems of the educational publishers.

However, the new, small publishing houses, acting through the Independent Publishers Association (since renamed the Association of Canadian Publishers), became increasingly vociferous in demanding governmental action at both the provincial and federal levels, in terms of both legislative measures and wide-scale subsidization of the industry. It was therefore not unusual at that time to hear the royal commission being petitioned to recommend legislation to stop, or at least severely restrict, the importation of books. More responsibly, there was also continual discussion in the media about ownership and control over publishing companies and book and magazine distributors (some went so far as to lobby for Canadian content quotas in paperback racks of local stores).

The major step taken by the federal government at this time was to increase the budget of the Canada Council, thereby permitting this cultural agency to increase the number and amount of grants to Canadian writers and subsidies enabling publishers to produce literary or scholarly works. Also, government staff were designated to begin "paying attention" to the publishing industry. A study commissioned by the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce had revealed that on the basis of estimated figures, the Canadian book-publishing industry represented only 0.06 percent of the gross national product in 1969,[2] and funding was made available to assist Canadian publishers to travel to and display their books at designated international book fairs.

After releasing the *Background Papers,*[3] the Royal Commission on Book Publishing finally made public its long-awaited report in 1973. Admitting that the industry and its problems were even more complex than anticipated, the royal commission produced a report as comprehensive as possible under the circumstances, thereby gaining the respect of the publishing industry.[4] As reasoned and reasonable as the recommendations were, there was no letup in the continuing public debate. There was even less agreement within the publishing world, because the physical, ideological and business divisions ran across many lines: young and old, social-

ist and free enterprise, educational and trade, Canadian-owned and foreign-owned.[5]

CANADIAN PUBLISHING TODAY

Discussion of the details of these matters is beyond the scope of this paper; in any case, the controversy continues unresolved. However, it is pertinent to note here in considering the history of Canadian book publishing that this publishing industry is very vigorous and growing rapidly, despite whatever ills may be felt by some of its members. The fact that increasing efforts have been made in the past ten years to seek international markets and to become part of international publishing seems to indicate that the industry is reaching maturity. Going one step further, it seems that, as a publishing nation, Canada does not belong to the Third World. If Canada has focused almost exclusively inward in the past, it is because its close historical ties with Britain and the overwhelming influence of the United States have forced a development that has produced a unique system: the most comprehensive availability of English-language titles, distributed through the most efficient agency system anywhere. (Branch offices located in Canada have no need to look outward; that is not why they came to Canada.) The Canadian companies devoted their energies to agency marketing problems and to meeting the book needs of Canadians unsatisfied by the thousands of foreign books available here. Perhaps it is the very large number of new houses operating in Canada now that has given the larger, more established houses an opportunity to participate in publishing on the international level.

During the past turbulent decade, the Canadian book-publishing industry has undergone many changes which have affected every fundamental practice held sacred in the past. A new, and probably the most vigorous, cycle of Canadian literature is shaping the population and making the rest of the world aware of what Canada is really all about. The publishers themselves have gained new aspirations and confidence.

Perhaps the most significant lesson to be learned from this seminal period is twofold. First, freedom to publish and to read must remain sacrosanct. If either of these freedoms rests on conditions that make it difficult for some to exercise either of them, however, then the government must be prepared to step in and assist those who feel restrained. Nevertheless — and this is the second point — once government steps in, the dangers of governmental interference and censorship become very great.

These are the realities of a country such as Canada, hemmed in by

the two largest English-speaking countries of the world. Canada enjoys the benefits derived from their greatness, but also may suffer the consequences of overenjoyment unless it remains aware of its own realities.

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The Colonial Heritage in Indian Publishing

SAMUEL ISRAEL

THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTION of two hundred years of British colonial rule to Indian publishing is an internal market for books in the English language — a market that persists and even grows despite the end of direct colonial domination in 1947. This has had a profound effect, for good and ill, on the growth of Indian publishing since independence.

On the positive side, India has the advantage of a large body of intellectuals, professionals of all kinds, who are more or less fluent in the dominant language of international communication today — English. Their use of the language is sometimes clumsy, sometimes archaic, often ungrammatical and in an idiom that might sound dated in Britain, the United States, Canada and Australia; but, by and large, the language is effectively used by the leading intellectuals of the country. Professionally, they think and function almost entirely in English. Most of them are bilingual.

A result of this continuing domination of English in Indian professional and intellectual life is that approximately 40 percent of the book titles published in India are in English. This situation has tended to persist over the last few years, despite numerous attempts by governmental and nongovernmental agencies to encourage the use of Indian languages for official and academic purposes. It is this historical background that has made India the third largest producer of books in English (in terms of the number of titles published annually) after the United States and Britain, and, potentially at least, a substantial exporter of books and print.

Considered from one angle, Indian publishing presents a picture of considerable advancement in the past twenty-five years: the number of

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publishers of all-India standing has increased from two or three to at least a dozen; professionalism and specialization have received belated recognition; wholesale distribution has established itself, and there are now at least four wholesalers capable of effective nationwide distribution. Oddly enough, Indian bookselling has steadily declined during these years; the large bookstores of the 1930s and early 1940s have either disappeared or deteriorated. Delhi, with its substantial and highly prosperous population of foreign diplomats (as well as numerous foreign tourists and other visitors) and with the highest per capita income of all Indian cities (even for the indigenous population), still seems capable of supporting a few excellent bookshops, but even there the actual performance is disappointing.

The weakness of the situation arises from the fact that, as far as the English language is concerned, this expansion has a very narrow base: only about 2 percent of India's 600 million people — that is, 12 million people — can read English. One might think that this is a sufficiently large number, considering that some countries with one-third this population support substantial publishing industries. But "literacy" in census terms implies no more than an ability to write and decipher individual words; it takes no account of the desire to read, or the ability or willingness to spend a few rupees a month on books or even a newspaper.

If this limitation of growth had been confined to publishing in the English language, the conclusion could have been that this was the result of the declining use of English in Indian education and administration. However, as far as the publishing of "serious" literature (as opposed to "popular" literature) is concerned, the situation is even worse in the case of Indian languages. While the share of Indian languages in the total volume of Indian publishing is probably steadily, though slowly, increasing — and this, by itself, is a satisfactory state of affairs — it is likely that many more Indian-language books fail to reach the legal deposit libraries than English-language books. Thus, a correct evaluation of this trend is possible only if the directions in which expansion is taking place are known.

The case of Hindi, the official language of the Indian Union, may be considered first. It enjoys a number of advantages as a publishing language. In spoken and written variants, it is the language of one-half of India's population, i.e. about 300 million people. Hindi is the language of the great majority of the Indian films, made at the major producing centers in Bombay and Madras, which play to millions all over the country each week. As the official language of the union and of six populous states,

Hindi has been and is being systematically promoted both for educational and administrative purposes. The Central Hindi Directorate and the six state *granth akademis,* or publication boards, are active in publishing and in promoting and assisting the publication of Hindi books at the university level. Finally, under the 3-language educational policy, Hindi is being studied as a compulsory subject in most of the non-Hindi-speaking states. All this has undoubtedly helped Hindi publishing to grow substantially over the last twenty-five years.

In the Hindi-speaking states, Hindi is now the medium of instruction at the school level in all but a small minority of English-medium schools, where the study of Hindi is also compulsory. With about 30 percent of the population in school, there is an enormous market for textbooks in Hindi. However, this field is largely, and increasingly, outside the scope of operation of commercial publishing — government-financed textbook boards are taking over.

At the college and university levels, the change to Hindi for instruction is virtually complete up to the first-degree level, and is largely so at the graduate level in the humanities and social sciences. Only medicine and engineering still retain the English medium. Enrollments at these levels, particularly in certain subjects, run into the tens of thousands each. This provides a substantial and lucrative field of activity for Hindi publishers, but they have still to exploit it fully.

In spite of the change to the Hindi medium at this level, the English-language textbook is not easily displaced. With earlier generations of teachers having been educated professionally in English, getting books satisfactorily translated into or written in Hindi, especially on scientific and technical subjects, poses a number of problems (including problems of technical terminology). It sometimes happens that even those students educated in the Hindi medium throughout find books in the original English easier to understand than translations.

Another factor inhibiting the healthy growth of Hindi publishing at this level is the fact that recommendations tend to be highly localized, i.e. college teachers recommend their own books or those of their college or city colleagues in a sort of mutual-benefit society. Such books are published by the local bookseller who, with little or no overhead to cover or discount to part with, sets both royalties and prices at levels with which a publisher covering wider horizons cannot afford to compete. Despite these limitations, this is an area of great promise for Hindi publishers. A government takeover at this level is not likely to be attempted in the forseeable future, in view of the acceptance of the principle of university

and college autonomy. In fact, the individual lecturer or professor is often the only recommending authority for a book. Those central recommending agencies that do exist are less influential than the teachers who are in direct touch with the students.

It is the Hindi paperback that has made the most spectacular progress in the course of the last decade. The pioneer was Dina Nath Malhotra with his Hind Pocket Books, which was founded twenty-five years ago. The paper- or cardbound book has, of course, always been available in India — in all languages, to keep prices down — but with Jaico Publishing House (English) in Bombay and Hind Pocket Books in Delhi, there was a hesitant launch into the true paperback revolution. Both the format and the name of the Delhi series (pocket books) indicate a dominantly American rather than U.K. (Penguin/Pelican) influence. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Home University Series, issued from Bombay, clearly and frankly imitated the Pelican format and uniform covers — even the blue color matched that of the Pelican publications.

Starting with modest print runs of 3000-5000, Hindi paperbacks now have runs of a minimum of 10,000 in the successful houses; runs of up to 30,000 are not unusual and sometimes one will find runs of 60,000. One author of popular romances, Gulshan Nada, enjoys print orders of 100,000. The number of publishers bringing out these paperbacks has regularly increased each year, and at least a dozen of them now operate from Delhi, Agra, Meerut and some other cities in Uttar Pradesh. Amar Nath of Star Publications, Delhi (one of the largest Hindi paperback publishers), estimates that about 100 new Hindi paperbacks are issued each month.[1]

Most of the paperback titles issued are light novels — adventure, romance, mystery, with varying doses of sex and violence — the staple fare offered by popular paperbacks everywhere. Some serious literature, both fiction and nonfiction, is also published in smaller editions at higher prices by some of the companies (notably Hind Pocket Books), and it is to be hoped that, as the paperback companies gain stability and confidence, more of them will devote part of their resources to the publishing of serious literature.

Substantial sales of these paperbacks are achieved through single-imprint book clubs, with memberships as high as 10,000; through regular bookshops; and through bookstalls and book barrows on railway stations and pavement kiosks, where they sell along with works by Ian Fleming, Erle Stanley Gardner, James Hadley Chase, Alistair Maclean, Agatha Christie and Barbara Cartland. Additional substantial outlets for these

books are the small commercial lending libraries that operate in almost all neighborhoods in Indian cities; a few thousand copies of titles by popular authors are delivered upon publication to these libraries alone.

More serious literature, such as literary criticism, academic studies and other serious works of general interest, is still widely published in the conventional way, either in hardcover or paperbound. The market for these is almost exclusively the university, college and public libraries, which combined can barely absorb 1000 copies in most cases, perhaps 1500-2000 in the case of outstanding works — a limitation Hindi publishing shares, in a more severe form, with scholarly publishing in English in India.

General and scholarly publishing in Hindi tends to appear in the fields of literature, literary criticism, language and linguistics, and somewhat less frequently in religion, philosophy and regional history. In other words, the emphasis tends to fall on subjects that have a more or less direct Hindi context. For other subjects, even those scholars capable of presenting scholarly material in Hindi often still prefer to write and publish in English, whether in India or abroad. The object, of course, is to reach as wide a readership as possible, not only internationally but also within the country. Here again English casts its long shadow on Hindi publishing.

At the scholarly level, publication in two languages seems to serve no purpose. Once a monograph has been published in English and efficiently distributed, an Indian-language version commands virtually no additional demand. At that level, almost all interested persons are fully capable of reading and understanding the work in English, and the additional readership obtained by publishing in an Indian language is not sufficient to justify separate publication.

In regard to conventional distribution channels, Hindi publishing, and, as will be reiterated, all Indian-language publishing, is very poorly served. The weaknesses of Indian bookselling in general have already been mentioned; the situation appears to be worse in the case of Indian-language books. In spite of the very wide area and large population requiring Hindi books, the interest of the all-India wholesalers in them is, at best, marginal.

This being the position of Hindi, one cannot expect the situation to be any better in the case of other Indian languages. Persistent traditions lend some strength to literary writing and publishing in languages like Bengali, Marathi and Telugu, but the pattern is the same: school textbooks are largely or wholly nationalized; university-level textbooks

offer possibilities but present difficulties still to be solved; not particularly literary or original novels gain popularity as paperbacks; and books of better quality sell in extremely limited quantities and very slowly.

While book clubs of the type mentioned earlier and other unconventional methods of distribution have been effective in the distribution of popular paperbacks in Indian languages, news agents and newsstands have not yet been exploited to any significant degree for this purpose. This is understandable, since the paperback publishers are not in a position to accept large-scale and early returns of stocks, the expense of which would completely annihilate their already meager margins. The Indian paperback publisher cannot afford more than a 10 percent write-off — and even that is difficult.

Surpassing the circulation of paperbacks in all Indian languages is the circulation of story magazines through news agents and newsstands. The most popular of them offer, as is to be expected, the same kind of fare as the paperbacks, but often spiced with a variety of nonfiction articles and features, special-interest material for women and children, and fascinating advertisements. A popular Tamil (South Indian) magazine regularly serializes novels and later issues them in paperback form, registering advance orders from readers for supply by mail, as well as selling copies through bookshops later. It was this phenomenon that led one Indian publishing editor to describe Indians as a nation of magazine readers rather than of book readers. They certainly buy magazines much more readily than they buy books.

While these popular magazines circulate in quantities of tens of thousands, and the most popular of the Tamil and Malayalam ones have circulations exceeding 100,000 (rivaling Hindi magazines in this respect), print orders for paperbacks in these languages are much lower than in the case of Hindi — 8000-10,000 in more advanced and highly populated areas, and down to 2000-3000 in regions like Karnatak and Orissa. Print orders in the latter range were still economic three years ago, thanks to low labor costs, but since prices of paper and other materials rose steeply in 1974-75, this is no longer so, and print runs have had to be further restricted. In some Indian languages, there are now only books bound in paper and not "paperbacks."

Opinions differ on whether the rather mild paperback revolution which India is now experiencing is a good thing, considering the quality of the bulk of the material published. As Romesh Thapar, an acute observer of the book situation in South Asia and elsewhere, puts it:

The normal sequence of transition is disrupted. Television can

> come before the radio, the radio before the school or college and the newspaper before the book. There is a great hunger for knowledge — knowledge to understand the change taking place and for knowledge to prevent the growth of a new illiteracy. The availability of pertinent reading materials is already considered the key to equality, but the resource is limited because all manner of trash seeks easily to satisfy the hunger of the new literates.[2]

Thapar further states that "the newspaper, the magazine, the comic, the romance, the detective story dominate the scene at the moment."[3]

The problem of the role of the book as an agent for, or instrument of, development is one that has received considerable attention in governmental and educational circles in India. The National Book Trust (an autonomous body fully financed by the Indian Ministry of Education) was set up with the objectives of fostering "bookmindedness" and publishing, particularly of good literature in Indian languages at affordable prices. A National Book Development Board was also set up by the Ministry of Education in 1967 to advise the government on matters concerning the book-publishing industry in all its aspects and interconnections (paper, printing and other related industries were also represented on the board). The board has been inactive for some time, and is currently being reorganized. At the government level, there is a Book Development Division in the Ministry of Education. The *Sahitya Akademis* (academies of literature) in the states have already been mentioned; there is also a national Sahitya Akademi. Government-run or government-sponsored publication boards have also been active in Indian languages in a number of states. Although these efforts have been substantial and much good work has been done, the results achieved (particularly as far as the regional languages are concerned) have been disappointingly limited. As often happens in such situations, the strongest units have been able to take maximum advantage of government's efforts. This amounts to saying that the greatest beneficiaries have been the major all-India publishers in English.

The National Book Trust has organized eight National Book Fairs and two World Book Fairs; representation of Indian-language publishers has been poor in all of them. At the second World Book Fair in Delhi in January 1976, there was an improved representation of Hindi and — thanks to state government subsidies plus substantial local initiative — Bengali publishers. At this fair, only about 40 of the 200 participants displayed Indian-language books, and these were mostly along with books in English. At the eighth National Book Fair in Ahmedabad (Gujarat)

in 1977, there was very substantial participation for the first time by Gujarati publishers, but very little by publishers in other Indian languages. Forty of the 100 participants at the Ahmedabad fair displayed Gujarati books or displayed them along with English-language publications. Hindi was hardly represented, however, and participation by neighboring Marathi publishers was totally absent.

This situation could, of course, be attributed to the fact that "except in the literary field, potential authors are largely expressing themselves in the language of their former colonial masters,"[4] and that, since works in regional languages do not command an all-India market, there is no point displaying them at national fairs — except those of the region in which the particular fair is being held. As mentioned earlier, however, publishers in the languages of the regions in which the fairs have been held have been very poorly represented (except at the eighth National Book Fair at Ahmedabad).

The pattern is no different in the case of fairs organized on a local scale in major metropolitan centers by the industry and trade organizations. For example, the Publishers Guild of Calcutta organized a very successful book fair held in March 1976. In spite of the fact that Bengali publishing is much stronger and better patronized than publishing in most other Indian languages, only about twenty of fifty-four participants displayed and sold Bengali books, many along with English books. The rest offered virtually only English books, and the large all-India publishing and distribution units were dominant.

The same pattern was repeated in October 1976 in Delhi in a fair organized by the Delhi State Publishers and Booksellers Association in celebration of its silver jubilee. Few stalls carried Hindi, Punjabi or Urdu books, and those that did had very little success with them. At the National Book Trust stall at this fair, only 210 copies (3 in Punjabi, the rest in Hindi) of books in these languages were sold, compared to 851 copies of books in English. Had the fair been located within the walls of the old city (rather than in New Delhi), with its cosmopolitan but still dominantly Hindi/Punjabi-speaking population, things would have been different. The significant point is that the New Delhi location was considered best. In November 1976, the same pattern was repeated in Bombay; the local fair was organized in the Fort (downtown) area, again dominantly cosmopolitan and with scarcely a bookshop selling books in Marathi, Gujarati or Hindi — except texts in these languages prescribed for use in schools.

The experience of the subsidy scheme operated by the National Book

Trust under the Indo-U.S. Textbook Program, with funds provided by U.S. AID from P.L. 480, points in a similar direction. Under this scheme, funds were available to assist publication of such works in Indian languages (including translations and adaptations of U.S. works), in addition to original Indian works in English in the fields of science and technology at the university level. In the first phase of the scheme, during which government-financed publishing organizations were not entitled to receive assistance, only two of the forty-nine titles assisted were in Hindi; no other Indian languages were represented. In the second phase (October 1974-December 1976), during which the scheme was thrown open to government publishing organizations, 134 of the 298 titles issued were in Indian languages (112 in Hindi and 22 in other languages); of these, only 8 were issued by the private sector, and all were in Hindi. All the rest were published by state *akademis,* publishing boards and some university units. This is not because there were many books submitted by the private sector which were not approved for assistance, but rather because very few publishers sought the assistance available. They were apparently simply not interested in handling such nonremunerative projects, and even the substantial subsidies did not induce them to experiment with such material. These publishers were quite content to leave this activity to the public sector.

In view of the difficulties faced by commercial publishing houses in publishing Indian-language serious literature (fiction and nonfiction) for the layperson on any substantial scale, the National Book Trust was also required to publish and distribute such literature in Indian languages at prices people could afford. Initially, the trust acquired translation rights for a number of outstanding international titles and outstanding Indian works, and had the works translated into various Indian languages. These translations were offered to publishers for publication on royalty terms. The results were disappointing; there were very few takers and the scheme was abandoned.

Presumably in view of its experience with the translations, the trust depended — except in one series — mainly on commissioned works providing information on subjects of Indian interest for its own publishing program. These were mostly written in English and later translated into Indian languages. In the Aadan-Pradan ("Give and Take") series, literary works in each of twelve Indian languages (excluding English) have been translated and published in the other eleven languages.

There has been much criticism in the Indian parliament and press about the failure of the trust to distribute its publications adequately —

about accumulating unsold stock. Whether this criticism is justified and to what extent will not be dealt with here. Attention should be drawn to the fact that this attempt by the public sector to sell serious books in Indian languages at subsidized prices has encountered the same difficulties as those faced by commercial publishers: limited markets and woefully inadequate distribution facilities.

It is the writer's personal experience in attempting to improve sales of National Book Trust publications that it is easiest to expand sales of English and Hindi titles; of the two, the former easier than the latter. Hindi has, among others, the advantage of catering to one-half India's population, but while it is well ahead of other Indian languages, Hindi still lags behind English in effective demand for nonfiction and serious fiction.

It has been a comparatively simple matter to find reliable wholesalers and stockers in various parts of the country to handle the trust's English-language titles; to find outlets for books in Indian languages has often been difficult, even in cities and towns where the language is spoken. For example, some large distributors in the south are willing to handle the trust's English titles, but are reluctant to handle those in South Indian languages.

The simple fact seems to be that book distribution and bookselling in English are more profitable than in Indian languages. Very few major booksellers carry stocks of Indian-language books; the few that do give them only second-class display and attention. In the major cities, most of the best booksellers are located in cosmopolitan areas and deal almost exclusively in English-language books, and often dominantly in imported books. As one moves to the district towns, the attention paid to Indian-language books improves, but this is in a context of decreasing efficiency of service and of meager stocks. Going further, to the smaller urban centers, the position becomes increasingly hopeless — only textbooks are sold, and even these are not easily available for college and university courses. The position in Karnataka (formerly Mysore) was described by a leading distributor of Kannada books: "There aren't even a dozen 'General Booksellers' who evince any interest in stocking books even against very liberal terms and other facilities offered by publishers. Perhaps it will take a decade or more from the Kannada bookselling business . . . to become an organized affair."[5]

It is this weakness in distribution that is preventing Indian publishing from keeping pace with the growing market which the spread of education should provide, combined with high costs of both production

and distribution. An efficient network of general booksellers cannot survive without enjoying a substantial rate of discount on purchases from publishers and wholesalers; they also require at least some limited return privileges. Neither of these is within the means of most publishers of Indian-language books if, in a situation of rising costs, prices must remain at acceptable levels. Direct supply to consumers through book clubs or by mail has become increasingly expensive, although some concessions on postal registration charges and value-payable post (collection of cost plus postal charges upon delivery) have been granted for parcels valued at Rs 10/- ($1.25) or less.

In this difficult situation, in which sales at even heavily subsidized prices are hard to get and profits or breaking even are unthinkable, the public sector must participate — even if only to blunder in and attempt to muddle through. For a long time to come, publishing of serious literature in Indian languages will have to be strongly encouraged and supported. The public sector units, notably the National Book Trust and the Publications Division of the Indian government, must also contribute to the development of an efficient distribution system — conventional, unconventional, or a combination of the two.

The private and cooperative sectors have been attempting to tackle the problem of distribution, and there have been some notable achievements. These achievements have in common the partial elimination or bypassing of the middleman, the independent bookseller — a trend which can only cause concern. In the majority of cases, however, it is generally not a question of eliminating or bypassing, but rather a case of providing a service where none is available. The appetite will grow with feeding, and the demand for books in bookshops will grow with the development of unconventional book distribution methods. Book clubs and mail-order houses have supplemented rather than displaced bookshops in the west. No other form of book distribution, however, can match the services of a good bookshop.

The book clubs and home library clubs are based on advance commitments to purchase, and often require advance payment. Members get regular editions (special club editions are not issued) at much less than list price and often post-free, but pay substantially more than the trade price. The Hindi paperback clubs have already been mentioned. The Home Library Plan (EMESCO Books), organized by M. Seshachalam and Co. through the Andhra Pradesh Book Distributors (both headed by M.N. Rao, a pioneer in this mode of distribution), also merits mention. The language in this case is Telugu.

The Sahitya Pravartaka Cooperative Society in Kerala is essentially a cooperative of Malayalam writers who publish their own and other Malayalam books, paying member-authors royalties of 30 percent of list price. The cooperative, now just over twenty-five years old and publishing an average of one book per day, offers a fascinating study of both its positive and negative features, but the point to be noted here is that the cooperative also runs a powerful chain (a near-monopoly) of bookshops all over Kerala known as the National Book Stalls. Through these outlets and mailings to numerous Malayalis scattered throughout India (and the world), the cooperative has succeeded in substantially increasing the amount and speed of circulation. The society has received considerable support and patronage from the government of Kerala. Attempts to develop in a similar direction by a cooperative of Tamil writers have not met with much success, and the good work done by the Southern Languages Book Trust ten years ago has largely been dissipated with the withdrawal of supporting institutional funds.

A small-scale operation with large-scale potential that needs to be better known is that of the Lok-Milap ("Meeting of Peoples") Trust which operates in the Gujarati language from a comparatively small district town in northern Gujarat. Since 1973 this nonprofit organization has been issuing annual sets of three to five paperback or hardcover volumes of serious literature — novels, collections of short stories or poems, biographies, essays and (in 1976) a set of illustrated books for children — and making them available at very little above the cost of production and freight to groups of persons who subscribe in advance; commercial publishers would normally price the same books at about four times the cost. This has resulted in series sales of 10,000-15,000 copies, 80 percent of which are subscribed some four months before publication and the rest sold through normal trade channels at double the subscription price during the following one or two years. Actually, a number of booksellers subscribe for multiple sets and hold them for sale after the publication date, which in effect gives them these supplies at a 50 percent discount, compared to the 25 percent discount offered to the trade after publication. The trade prices of these publications are thus still about one-half normal commercial price.

The sales of these series are in striking contrast to the average editions of 1000 copies sold over a period of 4 years for serious books in Gujarati — a language spoken by 30 million people, about one-third of whom are literate. The large print runs naturally lead to lower unit costs, which further help to reduce prices. As Mahendra Meghani, Lok-Milap

Managing Trustee, puts it, the trust "has eliminated both the publisher and the bookseller,"[6] whose main roles have been taken over by the readers (buyers). They provide the capital four months in advance; they group together to place the minimum acceptable orders of ten sets of each series, the coordinator of each group being permitted to retain 5 percent to cover costs. Lok-Milap retains an additional 3 percent, 10 percent goes to the authors as royalty, and about 82 percent is paid as an advance to the printers and binders, which encourages them to quote favorable rates.

While the results of these and other similar efforts — commercial and noncommercial — are encouraging and demonstrate that there is a substantial untapped potential, they also show that, even for commercial success, the conventional commercial approach is inadequate. For some time to come at least, non-profit-making social service organizations will also have an important role to play; until the purchasing power of the people rises substantially, the need for subsidized book publication will remain. The development of book marketing must also be effectively tackled.

English-language publishing will and must continue to grow in India. In addition to being virtually one more Indian language, it is also for Indians a "special-use" language. At the highest levels of specialization, its use will continue and grow, as will its use as a literary language and a language of all-India communication, in addition to the developing role of Hindi for this purpose.

English-language publishing in India has enough difficulties and is in constant need of support and encouragement; what needs to be realized is that the problems of Indian-language publishers are much more numerous and difficult. Consequently, they require assistance and encouragement on a much larger scale than do English-language publishers, if they are not all to lapse — if they are to survive at all — into publication of ephemera, to the virtual exclusion of material of lasting interest.

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The Book-Publishing Industry in Egypt

NADIA A. RIZK

THIS ARTICLE FOCUSES ON three aspects of the Egyptian publishing industry: title selection processes, pricing methods, and channels of distribution. Since descriptive information on the industry is scarce, the orientation of this paper is toward exploration rather than definitive analysis. Egypt provides a particularly good case study of Arab publishing, since it is the largest publishing country in the Arab world and its influence is widespread.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It is a fact that the earliest book form originated in the Egypt of the pharaohs thousands of years before the discovery of paper. The ancient Egyptians had developed papyrus, a pliant material processed from the stalk of the papyrus plant, which grew abundantly on the banks of the Nile. They produced it in bales or rolls six to seven inches high, so their books took the same form.[1] In reading, the books were gradually unrolled so that the writing, which was divided into columns, came successively into view. This was the era of literary activity in Egypt associated with and centered around the Alexandria Library. Monopoly of the papyrus industry, coupled with this activity, gave Egypt a lucrative controlling hold over the publishing industry and enhanced its importance as a center for culture. Naturally, Egypt's preferential status did not last forever. Like any other country, its book industry has been affected through the ages by both technological and other factors, causing the various book mutations universally affecting the industry.[2]

Egypt's modern book industry started in 1789 as a byproduct of Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. Believing that the way to the population's heart was via their religion, his plan was to propagate Islam.

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To do so he had two printing presses — one Arabic and one French — brought to Egypt. Two years later his expedition failed and he left, taking his presses with him.

Political instability reigned for the next twenty years, with no activity in either printing or publishing. By 1820 Muhammad Ali Pasha had become the uncontested head of the state. He turned his attention to internal organization and to the creation of a regular army, which needed to be administered and instructed. From this arose the need for printed materials. He started by sending a trainee to Milan and then imported and installed the first Egyptian printing press in Bulaq (a district of Cairo).[3] The printing press was also to be used to train printers and to translate and publish books for the government and individuals. Publishing activity at the time was therefore government-centered and of a dual nature:

1. Government-sponsored — consisting mostly of printing of the ruler's orders for the army, textbooks for the various schools, and translations for official circles.
2. Printing for individuals — most activity in this area being for merchants trading in publications and manuscripts in the book market next to Al Azhar University, the center of religion and thought at the time.

This printing and publishing activity for individuals constituted the emerging core of Egyptian book activity, and was based on the profit motive.

Muhammad Ali, the ruler, looked on the printing presses and the issuing of books as the tools of publicity for his government. He therefore expanded that activity, and had more printing presses installed in Alexandria and other governorates. In spite of this the publishing and printing movement became sluggish, as educational institutions, which generate a demand for books, failed to develop as rapidly as other sectors. Moreover, the industrial, military and construction sectors of the country were going through a period of recession, with a resultant negative effect on the printed word. By 1863, the Bulaq Press staff, which had originally numbered 169, was reduced to 60.[4]

This sluggishness entailed a reduced output even of materials printed for private individuals, thus reducing sales and profits. These people became dissatisfied. At the same time, the market had an abundance of skilled printers' apprentices chafing at their meager pay and at the poor prospects for promotion. The capital/labor mix was opportune,

and private presses as publishers started to grow and flourished, with ownership extending to both foreigners and Egyptians.

The economic existence of the book industry at the beginning of the century therefore depended on: (1) bookshops which undertook publishing, (2) printing presses which printed books for others, and (3) the government printing press, which continued to print and publish, but mainly produced official materials. World War I had an expansionist influence on publishing, for the British brought modern printing presses with them and partially subsidized some of the newspapers. Three clear types of publishers emerged as a result:

1. Private enterprise establishments, whose sole motive was profit and which published fast-turnover, dubious-quality books, mostly on religion, popular reading and fiction.
2. Big publishing enterprises attached to press organizations, which, in addition to publishing newspapers, also issued books. Two still in existence are Dar al Hilal and Dar Al-Maaref.
3. Publishing by intellectuals — specifically the Committee for Writing, Translating and Publishing, which was originally formed by a group of cultured Egyptians — did not have profit as one of their aims. This group disapproved of the standards of the first group, the private enterprise publishers.

Government publishing continued along only official lines until the end of World War II, when tremendous growth took place as a result of the realization that a direct correlation existed between increased culture and literacy and more rapid economic growth. Expansion took the form of government sponsorship of two projects: (1) publication of a series known as the "Thousand Books," and (2) creation of a "Popular University" aimed at raising the literacy rate and providing education for people who could not get formal education. Since then, government participation in publishing activity has increased and has led to the present extensive public sector industry.

THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF THE INDUSTRY

According to Escarpit, publishing of books in any country is conditioned by two elements: (1) the existence of a reading public, which is literate, economically well off, politically influential and from which potential readers may grow; and (2) the variety of uniformity of a reading public — tastes and patterns of behavior regardless of their quantitative numbers.[5] Using these two standards, Escarpit classified the

world into "high" or "low" pressure zones, into literary "cyclones" or "anti-cyclones." The high-pressure zones are the producers of the greatest number of titles. They are also identified as the "anti-cyclones," on whose expanded production the "cyclones" (with lower production but more diversified needs) draw to satisfy these needs. Egypt with its high production[6] is undoubtedly the high-pressure zone/anti-cyclone of its language bloc (Arabic), which is used by nearly 2.7 percent of the world population. The implications of this potential market, barring economic and political constraints, are tremendous. The leaders of the 1952 revolution, similar to their predecessors, realized the importance of this unique aspect of Egypt's book market.

In his "Philosophy of the Revolution" former President Nasser identified the three political and international spheres in which Egypt was to operate: the Arab, the Islamic and the African. The Egyptian book would undoubtedly serve as a basic means of unity for the first two. On the domestic front Nasser was also well aware of the importance of a literate, culturally awakened society as a means to speedier economic development and more rapid change to the new socialist concepts and ideology adopted by Egypt. The Egyptian book was therefore looked upon as a powerful tool in reaching desired goals on both the internal and external fronts. As such, it imposed on Egypt a new responsibility, necessitating planning that could only be undertaken by an official body. As a result, the public sector was greatly expanded. The present structure of the industry is therefore as follows: (1) the public sector, (2) the press sector, and (3) the private sector.

THE PUBLIC SECTOR

The philosophy which sponsored the creation of the public sector was lucid, but the concepts, organization and working objectives governing it and setting it into motion lacked equivalent clarity. Consequently, its structure was characterized by a series of trial-and-error organizational changes. At one time, two ministries, those of culture and national guidance, were both engaged in publishing activity, creating functional duplication, conflict of interest and inefficient resource utilization. In another phase, the adopted motto of "a book every six hours," which meant quantity took the upper hand over quality, caused dramatic overexpansion to take place, with little thought to distribution and sales.[7] In 1966, the Publishing Organization and its divisions had a deficit of 760,000 Egyptian pounds. Moreover, its printing presses were working at only 50 percent capacity, which meant higher production costs. Its marketing

was so weak that only 10 percent or less of a press run was sold. Storehouses were stacked with approximately 9 million copies of unsold publications. Public sector publishing suffered from duplication; it was discovered that the same works had been translated by more than one person and published under different titles. This confusion extended even to the administration, which carelessly wasted the equivalent of 95,000 Egyptian pounds in scarce hard currency by ordering a certain paper stock which was found to be the wrong quality and could not be used.[8]

One reorganization along functional lines took place, and still another in 1969, changing the economic status of the publishing sector from an organization to an authority.[9] Known as the General Authority for Writing and Publishing, this was a service establishment not bound by any profit-making objectives. The new structure kept its functional approach, but through departments rather than separate economic units. In 1972 all book-related activities, i.e. National Library and publishing activities, were united under one authority known as the General Egyptian Book Organization (GEBO).

THE PRESS SECTOR

Egypt has the oldest and most influential press in the Arab world. Prior to the revolution, it was in the hands of the private sector. On May 24, 1960, a presidential decree was issued reorganizing the press. It nationalized the more important press houses, and vested their property in what was then the National Union (the present Arab Socialist Union).[10]

Ownership is nominal — in the political sense only — to safeguard against deviation from the ideological socialist line. Actual management is run on free-enterprise lines; the relative advantage of this system (that is, competitive wages, no staff redundancy, existence of work incentives) is visible in its efficient management. In fact, one of the most lucrative book businesses in Egypt is that of Dar Al-Maaref. Since 1963 it has been affiliated with Al Ahram press house, an equally large money-making concern whose newspaper *Al Ahram* is widely distributed all over the world. The former controller general of Dar Al-Maaref, Sayyid Abul Naga, has stated its philosophy as being one that continued to look on the book industry as a profitable business if well managed. He refuted the trend that it was merely a "message" that could not survive without government subsidization.[11]

Dar Al-Maaref practices centralization of planning, but total decentralization in work implementation. The management believes in set-

ting goals, delegating authority, and dividing responsibility for production. The firm is divided into three functional departments — publishing, printing and distribution — in addition to a staff department, which handles general administrative matters. Budget allocations are independent. Performance is measured by the profit realized at the end of the accounting period. The degree of independence in action is illustrated by the fact that in spite of the existence of a printing department within the firm, the publishing department is allowed to farm out its work if cost estimates quoted are more competitive.[12] Stress is on quality and profitability.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The organizational structures of firms in the private sector are as varied and numerous as there are units. The majority of them are controlled by one man. As publishing is their principal means of livelihood, profit is naturally an important objective of these firms. Some pursue it to the exclusion of all else; others, while giving it a primary role, insist on good manufacturing standards and high quality in title selection.

In addition to the three main sectors, a vast amount of complementary publishing is done by the official government ministries, scientific and learned institutions, etc. The government printing office prints and publishes that wealth of information. It is important for researchers to be aware of the existence and potential of the information thus generated. Unfortunately, data are not easily accessible, for only a minor portion of the material is sold commercially. Likewise, aside from the quarterly *Legal Deposit Bulletin* published by the Egyptian National Library and Archives (an unpublicized tool which may easily escape the knowledge of the researcher), no other bibliographic source of information for such materials exists.

THE PUBLISHING PROCESS

The book industry, regardless of the development stage of the country in which it is undertaken, requires teamwork. For a book to be produced and reach the hands of a reader, four basic elements must exist: author, printer, bookseller and publisher.[13]

The mix or combination of these elements usually varies. For instance, in Egypt, the publisher/bookseller combination was widely prevalent in the sample surveyed by this writer. All respondents owned their bookshops, and of these, 43 percent were publishers/booksellers/printers. The survey adequately clarifies and documents publishing practices in

Egypt. The following categories of questions and answers are some of the findings from the survey. It should be noted that results from multiple-choice questions may total more than 100 percent.

General Information on Publishing Houses

Q. What type of publishing does your firm engage in — general (covering all fields), or special (covering certain fields only)?

A. Fifty-seven percent of respondents were general publishers, 21.5 percent were specialized, 21.5 percent were both.

Worth mentioning here is the trend toward specialization, encouraged by competition among publishers to capture the university textbook market, which is reputed for its high turnover rate. Instead of conflict, publishers have, through a process of natural adjustment, divided this market among them — e.g., some are identified more with medical publishing, others specialize in economics, etc.

Q. Do you have an advance plan of action for your firm?

A. Work activity is planned by 71 percent; not planned by 29 percent.

Length of planning time varied from three months to two years, with an average of one year. The plan is usually quantified in terms of number of titles to be published, subject areas determined, and time schedules set; all are extremely flexible. It is not unusual to sacrifice a planned title for a relatively more profitable new offer. In general, the plan (except for that of Dar Al-Maaref) is a scheduling more than a goal-setting device. Dar Al-Maaref's plan is based on specific monthly targets, per-hour machine cost, worker production per manhour norm, as well as other variables.

Q. Is your planning in any way coordinated with other firms?

A. Individual planning was not coordinated in 81 percent of the sample; it was coordinated in 14 percent.

Coordination here is limited to scanning booklists of other publishers to avoid duplication.

Title Selection

Q. How do you obtain the individual manuscript you publish — does the author come to you or is the writer asked to write on a specific subject?

A. In obtaining the manuscript, the author comes to the firm 75 percent of the time; the firm asks authors to write or translate certain subjects/titles 23.5 percent of the time; "other" methods are used 1.5 percent of the time.

"Other" methods include implementation of plans by scientific institutions such as the Higher Council for Arts and Literature (plans usually passed on to the public sector), or ideas proposed by individuals feeling a need for information in areas of specialization where little published materials exist. It is interesting to note that of all titles published in 1970, only 20 percent are translated, indicating an adequate supply of authors — in short, potential talent that could be more fully utilized.

Q. Who inspects the manuscripts received to determine acceptability? (multiple choice)

A. The publisher himself, 72 percent; an "outside" reader, 50 percent; other, 36 percent; committee of experts and committee of publishing house, each 22 percent.

This function, whether carried out by a whole department or exercised by a corner of the publisher's mind, is the key to the success of the publishing firm. It is a crucial decision with an element of risk, since it is not based on actual market research. Manuscripts are abundant, but the rejection rate (80 percent) is equally high. University textbooks were classed as "other" by respondents. Being a fast-selling category, textbook material is immediately accepted, especially when written by prominent professors. Although no formal censorship exists, it is the responsibility of the printer to secure the approval of the appropriate state office for the publishing of each signature (sixteen pages) before going to print.

Author-Publisher Relationship

Q. How do you deal in terms of finances with your writers? (multiple choice)

A. Buying copyright, 86 percent; royalty (payments on per-copy-sold basis), 86 percent. Average use of each showed royalty payments, 60 percent; buying copyright, 33 percent; and profit-sharing, 7 percent.

Royalty payments range from 15 percent to 25 percent of retail prices for general books, to a higher range of 35-40 percent for university professors. Subsidiary rights, which are all-important in Western nations, are of marginal importance in Egypt.

Prices and Costs

Q. How do you estimate the number of copies per title to be printed?

A. Most important factors are: subject matter, 72 percent; publisher's knowledge of the market, 57 percent; author's popularity, 43 percent; etc.

Respondents pointed out that determining considerations were similar to those for title selection and for press run (as corroborated by Table 1 below).

Q. What is the average number of copies per title published by your firm, i.e. per press run?

A. Table 1 indicates the response.

Subject	*Average range*
Supplemental school text materials	20,000–25,000
Serials	20,000–25,000
Children's books	6,500–10,000
Religion	6,500–10,000
History	2,630– 3,100
Literature	2,550– 3,000
Economics	2,350– 2,700
Politics	2,250– 2,500
University textbooks	1,500– 2,100

Table 1. Average Size of Press Runs

Q. How is your final cover price determined?

A. Prices are based on a "full cost plus" technique, by applying a simple formula:

$$\frac{\text{total cost} \times 3, 4 \text{ or } 5 \text{ (profit markup)}}{\text{press run}} = \text{selling price}$$

Return on investment for the first year is estimated to be 10 percent, since profit on sales ranges from 25 percent to 40 percent, and sales are not more than 40 percent of total annual production. The size of the press run is very important, for it is the divisor on which the quotient or selling price depends. Price in turn affects sales, most publications being price-elastic. It is interesting to note here a 1966 market study on newspapers, magazines and books conducted by the American University in Cairo with the Arab Research and Administration Center (ARAC).[14] It showed that the book-buying population in Egypt is made up of a

group twenty to forty years of age, 60 percent of whom are university students, professors and professionals. For these people, the average monthly buying potential for reading material is 44 piasters (approximately one dollar).

Advertising and Channels of Distribution

Q. What advertising media do you use?

A. The most popular methods of advertising are newspapers and the publisher's own booklist, which are used by 72 percent of the respondents. Booklists are mailed to users outside Egypt by 57 percent of the sample; the remaining 43 percent, who advertise in newspapers, felt that this method promoted their sales indirectly but adequately, since the Egyptian press is widely read by the entire Arab world.

Q. What distribution outlets do you use?

A. In Cairo, the most popular sales outlets are: publisher's own bookshop, 65 percent; other publishers' bookshops, 30 percent; news vendors, 5 percent.

A system of barter exists among publishers who sell through each other's outlets. The books are given on consignment. Similarly, popular low-priced titles are sold through the abundance of newspaper stands. A system of discounts exists whereby the "mu'alim," or person in charge of a newsstand, is given a high discount; he in turn farms them out to his employees on a commission basis. At the end of a specific time period, the balance of the unsold copies is returned and accounts are settled.

Q. What percent of your total annual sales goes to exports, and which geographic area is your best customer?

A. Exports account for 50 percent of total annual sales, the Arab world being the principal importer.

According to the 1975 *Federation of Egyptian Industries Yearbook,* this earlier statement remains valid. The federation warns against a noted drop in sales to specific countries such as Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia and Lebanon. It also notes a danger, namely, a 58 percent decrease in title production in 1974 compared to that of 1973. They attribute the decline to:

1. nonavailability and increase in prices of paper, giving rise to a black market for paper;

2. inadequacy of supply and poor quality of local ink (imports are not allowed in order to protect the domestic industry);
3. inadequate printing capacity — obsolete and antiquated printing presses have not been renovated since 1966; and
4. the trend of authors toward resorting to other Arab countries for a publishing outlet for their works, because of the problems mentioned above.[15]

This situation, of course, will seriously impair and challenge Egypt's position as a high-pressure zone for the Arab-speaking community. The chairman of GEBO, however, dismisses any real danger in this phenomenon and claims that the number of authors who have gone elsewhere to publish is small and has no real effect on Egypt as a publishing center.[16]

Q. What difficulties or obstacles do you meet in distributing your books outside Egypt?

A. Although most respondents identified more than one deterrent to their exports, the majority (86 percent) listed Form E-X as the main culprit; 43 percent cited book piracy.

Form E-X is a customs declaration form signed by the individual exporter, whereby he is responsible for the return in foreign exchange of the value of his exports within six months of sales. This stipulation has since been relaxed; the exporter is allowed to accrue foreign exchange to pay for imports of ink, paper and other primary materials for the industry — when such imports are allowed. Proof of import is obligatory; otherwise, the publisher or exporter is open to legal query by the authorities.

Since 1971 Egypt has gone through a series of internal changes characterized by: (1) a shift from the strictly socialist to the more liberal economic open-door policy; (2) from the antagonizing to the uniting of the Arab world; and (3) from the 1967 June war defeat to the October 1973 victory. The change in economic approach was no mere accident. The heavy burden of three successive wars which, to use Sadat's own term, had reduced Egypt's economy to "rock bottom," required it. The remedy — and rightly so — was seen in the encouragement of foreign investment. Legislation in most fields, especially covering investments, imports, exports and foreign exchange, has been and continues to be amended to encourage investors.[17]

Although possibly impaired over the years by various problem areas — lack of raw materials, export obstacles, etc. — Egypt's role as a leading

Arab publisher is not yet lost. Assuming that authorities will channel some of the present investments to the publishing sector, and recognizing the existing author and sales potential, Egypt's book industry will revive, expand, and the economy will definitely benefit from the expected increase in export returns.

Technological innovations from the Western world can easily be introduced and adopted by the market, because here again, Egypt lacks neither the initiative nor the trained manpower to excel in the printing field. Politically, Arab markets like Saudi Arabia and Tunisia, which had closed their markets to Egyptian publications for ideological reasons, no longer do so.

The prospects for an immediate improvement of the industry are good. The market, needed foreign exchange, and author material are available — all that is required now is the active official impetus to put them in the right mix.

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1. Dahl, Svend. *History of the Book.* New York, Scarecrow Press, 1958, pp. 7-9.

2. In addition to the papyrus stage, writers identify three mutations: (1) the codex associated with the discovery of vellum, the incunabula or the printed form; (2) the eighteenth and nineteenth century rise of a lower middle-class reading public with needs that had to be satisfied, coupled with a new series of mechanized printing techniques allowing large-scale production; and (3) the paperback — the revolutionary low-cost, mass-distributed book.

3. Date of installation is given as 1821 or 1822 *in* Sabat, Khalil. *Tarikh al Tiba'ah fil Sharq al 'Arabi (History of Printing in the Arab East).* Al Qahirah, Dar Al-Maaref, 1966, p. 135.

4. Ibid., p. 181.

5. Escarpit, Robert B. *The Book Revolution.* London, Harrap, 1966, pp. 20-86.

6. Book production reached 5489 titles in 1971, 4888 in 1972 and 8870 in 1973 according to the Egyptian National Library. *See* "II, Reports of the Industrial Chambers," *Federation of Egyptian Industries Yearbook.* Cairo, General Organization for Government Printing Offices, 1975, p. 118.

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8. _____. *Arba' Mu'tamarat (Four Conferences).* Al Qahirah, Al Mu'assassah al Misriyyah al 'Amah lil Ta'liif wal Nashr, 1967, pp. 214-15.

9. The term "mu'assassah" or "organization" is synonymous with the English term "corporation." Every mu'assassah has under it independent companies of an economic nature, which are commonly referred to as its economic units. It carries out the functions of central planning as well as exercising loose supervisory control. Its board has as its members the various chairmen of its economic units.

10. Wilber, Donald N. *United Arab Republic, Egypt: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture.* New Haven, Conn., HRAF Press, 1969, p. 209.

11. Naga, Sayyid Abul. "Sina'ah Tahmul Risalah" ("An Industry Bearing a Message"), *Al Ahram,* Jan. 11, 1969, p. 6.

12. Ibid.

13. Smith, Datus C., Jr. *A Guide to Book-Publishing.* New York, R.R. Bowker, 1966, p. 7.

14. The ARAC is an affiliate of Dar Al-Maaref.

15. *Federation of Egyptian Industries Yearbook,* op. cit., pp. 115-25.

16. Gharib, Muhammad al. "Kayf Nu'iid lil Kitab al Misri 'Arshih aladhi faqaduh?" ("How to Return the Egyptian Book to the Throne It Lost"), *Majallat al Ida'ah wal Tilivizyuun* 2202:34-35, May 28, 1977.

17. A case in point is Law #43 of 1974 on Investments and Free Zones which recently has been amended to reflect more benefits to the investor.

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Problems of Book Development in the Arab World with Special Reference to Egypt

SALIB BOTROS

THE ARAB WORLD[1] IS still part of the Third World although the per capita income (as a criterion of development) of some of its states has become in recent years as high as in the developed industrial countries (if not higher in some cases, due to the accumulated oil surplus).

The Arab world as such has the following characteristics:

1. high rates of illiteracy;
2. low purchasing power due to low per capita income;
3. low level of technological development;
4. distorted balances of payments (at least in the non-oil-producing nations), which result in quantitative, administrative and monetary restrictions on foreign trade, including the import of books; and
5. lack of up-to-date statistics and information, including data on books.

These characteristics contribute to the obstacles that obstruct the development of the book in the Arab world and especially in Egypt.

GENERAL PROBLEMS

The publishing industry in the Arab world is faced with a number of challenges which have impeded rapid book development. The very process of book production and distribution causes difficulties. The book in Arabic is not understood as a special product, and is often treated as an ordinary commodity.[2] As a result, the process of production and distribution is often misunderstood and not handled efficiently. In essence, the lack of a publishing "infrastructure" and of experts in the field able to

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produce and market books has hampered the establishment of an effective book industry.

The illiteracy rate among the 142.8 million inhabitants of the Arab world is still high, although it is decreasing in some countries. Until recently, 70 percent of the adult population was illiterate. The illiteracy of a large part of the Arab world hampers the development of the book industry, since it circumscribes the book market.

The per capita income of the Arab world is shown in Table 1 as divided into two categories: the first comprises the oil-producing countries, and the second contains the non-oil-producers. It is evident that most of the population of the second group cannot afford books unless they are exceptionally inexpensive. Such a low per capita income hardly covers basic necessities. Meanwhile, the cultural standard of the first group does not permit their populations to buy books in Arabic in a way that develops the book industry.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

A host of economic factors have cooperated to obstruct the development of the production of books in Arabic in the Arab world, as well as book distribution among Arab countries. In the first place, these countries usually have a distorted balance of payments that necessitates imposition of many rigorous measures. Import licenses, quota systems, foreign exchange restrictions, and import duties are in some instances imposed on books, and always on the materials needed for book manufacture.

Chronic currency difficulties in some Arab countries make intraregional book trade difficult, especially for books for general reading. These impediments also make it difficult for a country like Egypt to import machines and materials needed for book production. Foremost among these materials is paper of good quality.

In almost all Arab countries, printing paper, newsprint and magazine paper are subject to custom duties and other ancillary taxes which, taken together, total about 20 percent ad valorum. These duties and taxes are an onerous burden on the book industry in a developing country. Some Arab countries — Egypt, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia — that produce printing and writing paper domestically obstruct its importation by prohibitive customs duties or by administrative regulations designed to protect the infant industries. This state of affairs is an obstacle to book publishing in these countries, since prices of domestic paper are higher than international prices and the quality is inferior. The same restrictions

	Oil-producing countries	*(%)*	*Non-oil-producing countries*	*(%)*	*Total*	*(%)*
Population (millions)						
1970	35.4	(27.7)	92.5	(72.3)	127.9	(100)
1975	39.9	(27.9)	102.9	(72.1)	142.8	(100)
National Income (millions)						
1970	$16,173	(48.2)	$17,374	(51.8)	$33,547	(100)
1975	41,700	(63.5)	23,960	(36.5)	65,660	(100)
Per Capita Income (millions)						
1970	$ 457		$ 189	(72)	$ 262	
1975	1,045		243	(53)	460	

Table 1. National Income, Population and Per Capita Income, Arab World, 1970, 1975

Source: "Report of General Secretary of the Council of Arab Economic Unity to the 26th Session." June 1976, p. 5 and errata.

also apply to other materials required for book production, such as ink and binding materials.

Arab states tend to buy the latest printing technology under the influence of the "demonstration effect." In some cases this is inappropriate, since it is capital-intensive while the national economy is labor-intensive. In a country like Egypt that lacks foreign exchange, this tendency has a direct effect on book prices because it is impossible to fire surplus workers. Moreover, the maintenance expenses of such machines are very high, particularly because there are shortages of the appropriate skilled labor. The solution to this dilemma is to use labor-intensive technology together with capital-intensive technology in order to give a wider choice, so that costs of production can be reduced. This would affect book pricing.

An issue that has recently imposed itself on book development in the Arab world is the intraregional exodus of skilled laborers from the countries that have lower wage levels (e.g., Egypt) to the countries that have higher wages (namely, oil-producing countries). This deprives Egypt of its skilled labor, causing detrimental effects to the Egyptian book industry. Moreover, it raises wages in the book industry of the host country so that they become uneconomic. Hence, the training of manpower in all areas of the book industry, and especially in the printing industry, be-

comes urgent. This is a problem which lends itself to regional solution through three specialized regional agencies affiliated with the League of Arab States: the Council of Arab Economic Unity (CAEU), the Arab Organization for Education, Science and Culture (ARASCO) and the Industrial Development Center for Arab States (IDCAS).

COMMERCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS

Under present circumstances, where inflation has raised the prices of all imported raw materials, machines and wages, publishers have little room to maneuver since they are conscious of the dangers of pushing up prices in an area with low per capita incomes.

An approximate breakdown of the cover price of a general book in Arabic shows:

25-30 percent — bookseller's discount
25-30 percent — physical production
15-20 percent — author's royalty
10-15 percent — general expenses

This breakdown leaves about 10 percent to cover any other expenses and provide a profit for the publisher. If the publisher worked entirely without profit and everyone else took the amount they are now getting, the price of books would generally go down only by a meager amount. Some publishers try to increase their profit margins through ancillary sources of revenue.

The fact that the Arab world has a common language, religion and social environment accounts for the wide intraregional trade in Arabic books. However, a great part of this trade is in textbooks, which constitute 75 percent of the books in Arabic printed in Egypt and Lebanon which are exported to other Arab countries. This trade is expected to decline, due to the fact that almost all Arab countries have already begun to produce their own school text books domestically. Moreover, authors, particularly Egyptians, prefer to sell their copyrights to other Arab countries for foreign exchange rather than cede these rights for the currency of their own country. The economic factors mentioned earlier are real stumbling blocks that impede intraregional trade. The most serious factor is monetary. Some local monetary laws and regulations require that the value of books exported to another Arab country should be repatriated in free currency during a limited period of time. In the case of default, publishers are subject to financial penalties and are prevented from disposing of excessive stocks at low prices. This deprives the

Arab market of cheap remainders which are common in the industrialized nations. Another factor is that some Arab governments buy books in Arabic from aliens who give the lowest bid in a public tender rather than from the publisher or author.

The publishers' associations at national and regional levels are to blame for the stagnation of the book trade in the Arab world. The domestic associations, as well as the Pan Arab Association, have not played effective roles. The flagrant example in this respect is Egypt. It has had a de jure association since 1965, but this association is fossilized. Neither authors, publishers nor book traders benefit from its existence. Unfortunately, the Egyptian association has always dominated the Pan Arab Association; this has accounted for the stagnation of the latter. Hence the book industry lacks institutional organization.

Publishers in the Arab world are mere investors who seek to maximize their profits. They concentrate on the kinds of books which are more salable, namely, literary, religious and Islamic heritage books. Publishers neglect other kinds of books in order to avoid more than minimum risk.

In some Arab countries — Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, and Sudan — the book industry and the book trade have been nationalized. In Egypt, for example, the main publishing houses are owned by a quasigovernmental body, the Arab Socialist Union. Although it is the de jure owner, it is not active in this field. Therefore, publishing in Egypt is not administered satisfactorily. Moreover, the trade lacks a coherent publishing policy, although its main organs are state-owned. In Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, book imports and exports have to be conducted through public companies. Some other Arab countries, such as Lebanon, have a much larger private-sector participation in publishing, although Lebanon, which has traditionally been a center of regional publishing, has been affected by the recent civil conflict.

LEGAL ASPECTS

The problem of copyright is one that hampers the development of the book in Arabic in the Arab world. Some countries in the region already have domestic copyright legislation, but most of these laws require revision. Copyright has been acknowledged in Morocco since 1916, and in Lebanon and Syria since 1924; in Tunisia, Algeria and Libya, legislations were promulgated in 1966, 1973 and 1976, respectively. All these countries, with the exception of Syria, have joined either the Berne Convention or the Universal Copyright Convention (UCC). In Egypt the

law that provides protection dates back to 1954. Egypt has not yet acceded to any international convention in this respect, although a presidential decree (no. 591) was issued July 13, 1976, to the effect that Egypt accedes to the Berne Convention; but it has not yet come into force. The most recent Arab country to sign the Universal Copyright Convention is Libya.

On the other hand, Arab countries have failed to adopt, through the League of Arab States, an agreement which regulates copyright on a regional level. The agenda of the Arab Cultural Conference, held in Jordan, December 20-23, 1976, included an item concerning the need of the Arab states to adopt such an agreement. The proposed convention will be more effective in solving copyright problems. It will take into consideration the special circumstances in these countries and the technological development that permits dissemination on a widespread scale of low-cost reproductions of published books.

Author's copyright is a fragile right which needs special protection. However, most Arab countries lack copyright legislation at a national as well as regional level; and they have abstained from acceding to international copyright conventions such as Berne and UCC in order to avoid payment of royalties accruing to citizens of other countries. As recourse to general law in the case of infringement of author's rights is tedious and long, authors writing in Arabic are exposed to breach of copyright. This fact, coupled with both low royalties resulting from the low price of Arabic books and the high rate of taxes, makes it difficult for an author writing in Arabic or a translator to live solely on his literary earnings. Because of the marginal profitability of books, advertising is generally impossible.

Arab countries treat books in Arabic as an ordinary commercial commodity in every respect. Taxes and duties are imposed on books and materials needed for book production as a source of government revenue. Authors' and translators' royalties are subject to a direct tax similar to those imposed on commercial and industrial profits (35 percent). A great part of it (20 percent) is subtracted according to the "*stoppage à la source* principle" without any deduction for expenses.

The institutional framework of the book in the Arab world is distorted. A substantial part of the industry is owned either by the government or by quasigovernmental bodies, yet there is no coherent policy for the industry. The rest of the industry belongs to the private sector, which has no target but the maximization of profit by concentration on literary

and religious books. Finally, the publishers' associations are inactive and provide no leadership.

References

1. The term *Arab world* denotes countries which are members of the League of Arab States: Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Somalia (African Arab countries); as well as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Northern Yemen, Southern Yemen, Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman and the United Arab Emarates.

2. "A book is sold, bought, passed from hand to hand, but it cannot be treated like an ordinary commercial commodity, because it is, at once, multiple and unique, in ample supply yet precious." *See* Escarpit, Robert. *The Book Revolution.* London, Harrap, 1966, p. 17.

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Educational Publishing and Book Production in the English-Speaking Caribbean

ALVONA ALLEYNE
and
PAM MORDECAI

BOOK PUBLISHING IN THE English-speaking Caribbean is by no means a recent phenomenon. The earliest publication was printed in Jamaica in 1718. It is true, however, that the development of a publishing industry in the area has proceeded haphazardly, and the situation as it presently exists is by no means satisfactory. As Valerie Bloomfield remarks:

> The Caribbean book trade, with a few exceptions, is still characterized by some or all of the following features: decentralized production, with the initiative coming from institutions, individuals, bookshops or printers rather than from commercial publishers; small editions, which soon go out of print; a high proportion of mimeographed and unpriced publications; limited distribution, incomplete bibliographical control.[1]

However, it is important to realize at the same time that this situation could hardly have been otherwise given the sociocultural and economic constraints in the Caribbean and the traditional dominance of the book trade by multinationals. High rates of illiteracy in some territories (Jamaica has an illiteracy rate of 25 percent), a traditionally oral folk culture, an educational system which has never efficiently reached the entire population of any territory, a low per capita income, inadequate book provision in primary schools in most territories, inefficient library

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systems (Jamaica is an exception) — none of these augur well for the generation of indigenous publishing operations, particularly not as conceived on metropolitan models.

This last point is important. That publishing operations should, as Bloomfield states, originate with "institutions, individuals, bookshops or printers" may not coincide with twentieth-century metropolitan ideals; however, in Third World areas like the Caribbean, where, as Smith points out, the high capitalization required at the outset by publishing ventures is not easy to obtain,[2] the institution/individual/bookshop/printer base for publishing was historically almost inevitable. (William Demas has described the vertical integration of Caribbean economies into the metropole and the consequent limitations on local capital formation.[3]) At least three of the more prestigious publishing ventures in these territories — Bolivar, Sangster's and Columbus — have originated in this way, and several excellent titles may be attributed to them, either autonomously or in joint efforts with metropolitan publishers.

This paper is concerned with educational publishing at all levels in the English-speaking Caribbean, particularly in Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad. Literary materials will not be treated here, since they are produced for wider markets and not meant primarily for scholarship. Two criteria have been used for designating material as being regionally published: (1) materials generated by any authors published by a local/regional agency and printed in the region, and (2) materials generated by any authors published by a local/regional agency and printed elsewhere.

Given the situation described, cooperation between governments in the region is almost a sine qua non of any successful regional venture concerned with publishing educational materials, particularly at primary and secondary levels. Only the governments in concert can both mobilize the necessary capital and guarantee the markets on which the success of the venture would depend. At the present time textbook production is largely the purview of the metropolitan multinationals.

The governments themselves have not been ignorant of the situation. In 1968 representatives of governments contributing to the University of the West Indies met with senior officers of that institution to consider publication of educational materials for West Indian school systems. As a result of this meeting, a team was appointed to survey the needs and resources of the area as a basis for considering a government-sponsored regional scheme.

In 1969 the team published its report, recommending that: "As soon

as the regional curriculum planning committee is firmly established, the governments should cooperate in establishing a Caribbean-wide publishing house under the aegis of the Institute of Education of the University of the West Indies."[4] The prerequisite of regional curriculum planning has seen partial fulfillment in the establishment of the Caribbean Examinations Council, but it is clear that the survey team had envisioned cooperation in curriculum planning on a much wider scale.

The team also commented in their report that the "evidence available suggests that any new regional publications venture would receive the closest cooperation of the most developed publishing units in any of the territories," and that "a prerequisite for the success of a regional publications scheme is the commitment of governments in word as well as in deed."[5]

The subsequent commitment of governments in word was extensive. In 1972 and frequently thereafter, governments agreed on the desirability of regional "cooperation in the production of textbook and other educational materials." There has been little evidence of this to date. Instead, the territories continue to pay large sums of money to metropolitan publishers for educational materials at all levels of the system. For example, 1976 expenditures for supplies and materials by the publications branch of Jamaica's Ministry of Education was $1,289,452, according to the "Estimates for Expenditure for the Year Ending 31st March 1976." The major part of this expenditure was used to purchase books for schools.

The University of the West Indies (UWI) has contemplated the establishment of a university press for a long time. A subcommittee of the university appointed in 1974 to consider the publication of journals has met only once since then. Although recognizing that there would be advantages in a university publishing house, the committee made no recommendation for even a preliminary examination of its feasibility.

The benefits of a regional publishing agency and a university press in economic and educational-cultural terms appear significant. Whether and how these benefits can be achieved needs to be examined considering the present regional and university structures and, in particular, the present structures for publication within the university.

FACTORS FAVORING BOOK PRODUCTION IN THE CARIBBEAN

There are several factors that favor the development of educational publishing in the anglophone Caribbean. The commonality of a shared standard language in the excolonial British territories provides the requisite linguistic "critical mass." It is true that the lingua franca in

Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad is some form of Creole, but in most instances, as Carrington[6] states, the Creole is English-based — and even where it is not, English has always been and continues to be: (1) understood by the population at large, (2) the language of the classroom, and (3) the traditional language of almost all print materials.

By and large, the cultural dependence which is a demon particularly given to oppressing excolonial societies has been considerably exorcised in the areas under discussion. For example, the movement to replace British-oriented textbooks with more culturally relevant materials has existed for decades. The accommodation of curriculum materials to take account of the peculiar linguistic situation is more recent, and has come in the wake of extensive linguistic research in the region. Overall, the political ferment of the 1940s and the new awareness of the 1960s and 1970s have done much to rid these societies of the tendency to look to Europe (or North America) for legitimacy.

It is true that, as Keith Smith has commented in the case of their African counterparts, some local academics still prefer to "seek the wider market, prestige and assured royalty payments of British and United States publishers."[7] Nevertheless, many are more than willing to produce for local publishers, prestigious or otherwise, once they are assured that the material will reach the audience for which it was conceived in a reasonable time.

The experience of writing or editing for "established" publishers has been a source of an important kind of practical training for professionals in the region. A fair part of the editorial expertise that exists — small though it is — can be said to have been built up in this way. Often persons who begin as authors become publishers themselves. Expectations of the quality of the production of their own works by metropolitan publishers thus become, if not goals to be attained, at least a model in terms of which they can operate.

Unfortunately, because of the stranglehold of the metropolitan publishers, the editorial skills that have developed are largely those of copy editing. As is the case elsewhere in the excolonies, the establishment of publishing policies and priorities continues to be the prerogative of the parent companies, despite purported attempts of some publishers to give their local offices a greater share in decision-making. Thus, there has been little or no opportunity for the development of production editorial skills, and few (if any) persons in the region are presently equipped to function as publishing management.

Agencies such as Unesco, the Commonwealth Fund for Technical

Cooperation, and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Secretariat have been instrumental in promoting workshops on publishing and book production over the years. However, workshops and seminars of this kind are regarded with skepticism by many participants. They tend to be repetitive and what they can accomplish is limited by constraints of time and funding. Furthermore, representatives sent by regional governments are usually not sufficiently influential to guarantee the implementation of decisions or recommendations made by the participants. Nevertheless, meetings of this kind have performed at least two important services. Persons in the region engaged in curriculum development and book production have kept in touch with each other and therefore with developments from territory to territory. Also, the reports of these seminars represent some form of documentation in an area on which little has been written.

The foundation of an Institute of Mass Communications on the UWI Mona campus in 1974 and, more recently, of a nonacademic school of printing, as well as courses in various aspects of the communication arts currently offered by the UWI Extra Mural centers in Jamaica and Trinidad, are evidence of an increasing awareness of the importance of training for media — including print media. It is to be hoped that training of this kind will create a pool of professionals with interest in areas sufficiently closely allied to publishing on which the developing regional industry can eventually draw.

Where the technology of publishing is concerned, the outlook is perhaps brightest. There are lively printing industries, including plants of varying sizes and capabilities in Trinidad, Guyana and Jamaica. Composition, typesetting and offset printing are quite familiar operations in varying degrees of use from territory to territory. Color separation is still sent abroad by some territories, although the technology is available in Jamaica; the quality of color reproduction in at least three printing establishments in the region is excellent. Binding represents perhaps the most serious difficulty. Case binding is available, but presents difficulties for sizable runs. Perfect binding is widely available in Trinidad; in Jamaica, however, it is a process that can take months. College Union Press in Trinidad is currently installing a plant which will be able to bind 6000 paperbacks per hour.

A thriving advertising industry, particularly in Trinidad and Jamaica, has created a market for layout and graphic art skills. Both the Jamaica School of Art and Trinidad's John Donaldson Technical Institute offer courses in layout and graphic design. The few graphic artists

who are in the region are admittedly inexperienced in book (particularly textbook) production, but that would not be a major hurdle to overcome if and when a publishing industry came into being. An area of serious dearth is that of illustration, for ironically, although there is an abundance of artistic talent and some training is available, there are very few book illustrators in the Caribbean. Until very recently there has been no industry requiring the skill, and hence no impetus for it to develop.

Finally, the "book delivery" system via libraries, bookmobiles, schools and bookshops, though leaving much to be desired in varying aspects in the different territories, is at least adequate to support the continued interest of the multinationals in the Caribbean market.

Overall, then, it appears that as far as skills and plant capability are concerned, a sufficient provision of both exists within the region to support (with some restructuring and training programs) a regional publishing effort. The problem appears to be one of assuring the participation of regional governments and "cutting di shirt to fit di klaat."

EDUCATIONAL PUBLISHING AT PRIMARY AND SECONDARY LEVELS IN THE CARIBBEAN

Curriculum development activity in Jamaica and Guyana at primary and secondary levels is not inconsiderable. Guyana's "Ministry of Education and Social Development Printing Requirements — 1977" lists 29 new publications in various subject areas, most of them in press runs of 35,000.[8] In Jamaica, UWI's Language Materials Workshop, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, is currently producing readers, workbooks, teachers' resource books and teachers' guides for the first three primary grades by arrangement with Heinemann. In addition, the Ministry of Education's Publications Unit is itself publishing histories of each of the parishes in Jamaica; three of these — *The History of Clarendon* and *The History of the City of Kingston, Parts I & II* — have already appeared. This ministry is also producing units for the tenth and eleventh grade programs in science, mathematics, language and communication, and life skills.

Materials production in the Trinidad Ministry of Education is on a more limited scale at the present time, and is concerned with the production of materials in runs not exceeding 10,000 which reflect the Trinidadian child's environment, i.e. social studies, reading and biology.

Regional publishers (Columbus, Jamaica Publishing House, UWI School of Education) have also entered into joint ventures with metropolitan companies on various bases. In some cases, the local company sim-

ply reprints and distributes titles originally produced by a metropolitan publisher. In other instances, such as the Language Materials Workshop mentioned earlier, the input is more considerable. Some local publishers have also produced classroom materials on their own, and one or two titles (practice exercises for the Common Entrance Examination) have been published by their authors and proven very successful in commercial terms.

However, apart from the considerable effort of the Guyana Ministry of Education to develop and publish indigenous materials for the primary and secondary school population, and the thrust of the Jamaica Ministry of Education to provide materials for the tenth and eleventh grades school population, no major inroads have been made by local publishers, government or otherwise, in the enormous primary and secondary school textbook market presently serviced by the multinationals.

The Jamaica Reading Association's Guinep Series publishing project deserves mention. The project represents an interesting example of the kind of publishing agency which has managed to identify and service a critical need by producing inexpensive but eye-catching, mimeographed, high-interest/low-vocabulary reading materials for use at secondary levels. Three stories sell for ten cents (Jamaican). Press runs are in the tens of thousands. The list of titles exceeds thirty and the market appears inexhaustible. Some of the stories have now been collected in two softcover booklets which sell for forty cents each.

The institutional structure is loose: an editorial committee invites submissions from interested writers and oversees or performs the layout, graphic design and reproduction of the materials. In the case of booklets, the job is given out to professionals. Limited funding from CUSO has occasionally provided part-time assistance in these operations. It is important to note that the sponsoring agency is a professional organization with a noncommercial vested interest.

Discussion of educational publishing for Caribbean schools should not close without mention of Caribbean Educational Publications (CEP). Located in the Institute of Education of the University of the West Indies and registered in the university's name, CEP came into being in 1964. Funded for three years by the Ford Foundation, it sought to publish educational materials relevant to the needs of the region on a nonprofit-making basis. Its initial aim was to produce separate series of workbooks and accompanying teachers' guides in seven subject areas. Materials were tested in the field and revised before publication. After editing and redesigning, materials were sent for reproduction to Penguin Books Ltd.,

which was supporting the scheme in several ways, including supervising printing and administering warehousing, distribution and invoicing.

By 1968 the project was defunct. Even now the reasons for its collapse are not entirely clear. According to a document prepared by the CARICOM Secretariat, the Caribbean Textbook Survey team:

> attributes the rather limited success of Caribbean Educational Publications to a number of factors including: the absence of territorial cooperation in curriculum planning; the inadequacy of the organization's budget and the lack of financial security; the fact that the senior staff was available only on a part-time basis; the lack of official support at the level of the involvement of the schools in the testing of the materials produced; problems of supply and distribution.[9]

The secretariat seemed to be persuaded of the soundness of the team's view. Nevertheless, it is likely that the whole truth of the matter will never be known. One may safely guess, however, that the failure of this first regional effort at publishing educational materials in the Caribbean — in itself an unhappy event — has served to retard further efforts in this direction, although as early as 1968, immediately after CEP had failed, governments had demonstrated their awareness of the continuing need for a regional effort in educational publishing.

EDUCATIONAL PUBLISHING AT THE TERTIARY LEVEL IN THE CARIBBEAN

The Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) is responsible for the largest body of scholarly works in the area. The institute was established in 1948 and has been publishing original research in the social sciences since then. Its 1976 list records seventy-eight titles, most of which would be essential to any study of the region. The majority of these volumes are produced in the area, although some are printed abroad. Quite a few of its publications have been reprinted — some twice, as in the case of the Caribbean edition of George Beckford's *Persistent Poverty*. The most recent development of ISER is a significant one. Its series of Working Papers (mimeographed and bound in softcover), which number fifteen so far, is designed to publish research in progress which is often of immediate relevance.

The institute can probably feel the greatest sense of achievement about the publication of its 26-year-old journal *Social and Economic Studies*. In fact, the university is responsible for four of the longest-

running current periodicals in the English-speaking West Indies: *Tropical Agriculture, Social and Economic Studies, Caribbean Quarterly,* and *West Indian Medical Journal.* Each of these journals has been published for more than twenty years. For the West Indies, where journals have proliferated in recent years (most often appearing for two or three issues only), this is remarkable.

Tropical Agriculture is a quarterly which has appeared uninterrupted since its inception in 1925. It was originally published by the former Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture (ICTA) and subsequently by the UWI Faculty of Agriculture. ICTA has also mimeographed limited runs of various other scholarly papers in the field of agriculture.

Two projects of the UWI Extra-Mural Department (Trinidad) which are important events in West Indian publishing are its journal *Caribbean Quarterly* and its series of Caribbean plays. *Caribbean Quarterly* covers the largest range of subjects in the arts and social sciences of any journal in the Caribbean. The series of Caribbean plays first appeared in the early 1950s in stenciled format, were later printed, and in some instances have gone through more than one edition. The series consists of sixty-three titles.

The Department of Extra-Mural Studies has recently published *Caribbean Issues,* a journal of Caribbean affairs. Intended to appear three or four times a year, it has appeared so far only in the three issues for 1974. The *Caribbean Journal of Education,* first published by UWI School of Education in 1974, and intended to document educational research and curriculum development in the region, has also fallen behind its schedule. *Cajanus,* the journal of the UWI Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute, has managed to appear regularly since it was first published in February 1968.

The *West Indian Medical Journal* has had its share of problems as well. Despite a subvention from the university, it has recently had financial difficulties. In addition, a recent issue was published with apologies from the editor for the caliber of writing in the various articles, which were published in large part as they had been submitted.

Any account of the university's ventures in publishing would be incomplete without mention of the Caribbean Universities Press (CARUP). CARUP began operation in 1969 as an attempt by the history department (in conjunction with Ginn & Co.) to publish mainly the historical scholarship of the region on a commercial basis. Members of the editorial board were drawn from both groups. Caribbean Universities Press did not lack material and should have been able to succeed with the commercial

expertise of Ginn; but this has not proved to be entirely true. Its titles, all history-oriented, are excellent. Its series, *Chapters in Caribbean History,* was intended ultimately to form the definitive history of the West Indies. Only three such titles have appeared to date. The company has been more or less inactive — certainly in terms of initiating new projects — in the past two years. It has been the victim of multinational maneuvering: Ginn & Co. was bought by Xerox, transferred to Bowker (another Xerox subsidiary), and then returned to its previous autonomy.

The Journal of Caribbean History, for which CARUP was responsible and which first appeared in 1970, published six numbers up to 1973 and then lapsed for a period. It has since recovered, and the eighth and ninth volumes were scheduled to appear in March 1977.

During this period of abeyance, a few titles have appeared under the CARUP imprint, and a local member of the editorial board seemed confident that other titles presently in process would be forthcoming.

While the university has the distinction of publishing the largest number of titles, the Institute of Jamaica is the oldest active publishing concern in the English-speaking West Indies; in fact, it has never before shown as much vigor in its efforts. The earliest publications of the institute were of a scientific nature and were based on public lectures given there. Prior to Jamaica's independence, its greatest period of activity was under the directorship of Frank Cundall, who was himself a prolific writer. Despite some unevenness, many of his works are still essential to any study of the region, and his series of bibliographies has not been superseded. His 1909 bibliography of the West Indies was reprinted in 1971 by Johnson Reprint (a missed opportunity on the part of the institute).

In recent years the institute has concentrated on producing historical works. It commissions articles on aspects of Jamaican history about which very little is known. In 1976 it published its first literary monograph, Reid's *The Jamaicans;* it is the story of Juan de Bolas, an escaped slave who became Jamaica's first guerrilla fighter.

The *Jamaica Journal,* a heavily pictorial "glossy" quarterly, demonstrates the institute's traditional interest in the sciences and the arts.

The Barbados Museum and Historical Society Journal and the *Jamaica Historical Society Bulletin* are long-standing examples of this tradition. Among West Indian periodicals appearing more recently are: *New World* (now apparently defunct), a social science journal published by the New World group; and *Savacou,* published by the Caribbean Artists Movement and generous in its concern with regional issues. There

is also a number of journals for teachers in the region, some of general interest to education, and others aimed at subject specialists.

Recently arrived in the publishing field is CADEC — Christian Action for Development in the Eastern Caribbean. A church-sponsored association funded by a number of international agencies and based in Barbados, it has been responsible for producing some interesting publications.

In addition, a number of the "publishers" already mentioned, as well as others (including the teacher training colleges and the University of Guyana), have been responsible over the years for the publication of a variety of documents of varying relevance to scholarship in the region. None of these bodies can be regarded as ever having had a publications policy or, indeed, any long-term scheme for materials production.

EVALUATION

The situation outlined does not appear to be a pessimistic one. The conditions in the Commonwealth Caribbean territories by and large satisfy the criteria necessary for a viable publishing venture: the availability of material in sufficient quantity and of suitable quality for publication; the technical expertise and the technology needed to produce the book; an interested readership and an efficient distribution system. Material in the education field is being produced at all levels. Not only is much of it of excellent standard, it also treats of matter integral to Caribbean culture, contextualized in Caribbean environment and articulated from the Caribbean point of view. The ministries of education in both Jamaica and Guyana, in cooperation with the appropriate university agencies, are currently revising curricula at primary and secondary levels and are themselves publishing some of the required textbooks, workbooks and teachers' manuals. Recent appointments of additional curriculum development personnel in the Trinidad Ministry of Education would seem to represent that country's commitment to curriculum reform.

West Indian societies are examination-oriented, and the pressure to achieve by acquiring certification is great. Educational publications have a captive market. The West Indian society is mostly a young society, and the population growth is not diminishing. The school-age market, whether it is supplied by government or commercial firms, is always on the increase. In Jamaica, there is also the growing number of new literates who require material that should be specially written for them.

Scholarly publications, apart from general readership, will find readiest outlet in the university population of the region. The interest dis-

played in the area by many American and British universities can be exploited to native advantage, and an organized attempt can be made to provide them with material found only in this region.

At this level, current activity in the production of educational materials is not inconsiderable, and as has been shown, is largely centered in the UWI. Funded and governed by a number of independent or semi-independent territories, and with three major campuses in Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and several university centers in the smaller islands, this university should from its inception have made a regional university press an integral part of its development program. Such a press would be capable of supplying the scholarly needs of the region by providing the local outlet for the reporting of this scholarship, and would also serve as a publisher of curriculum materials. That the university has failed to do this can be attributed largely to a lack of administrative foresight. It is true that the economics of such an operation might have seemed forbidding, but commitment to innovative approaches and development of norms and systems suited to the resources are parts of the management function.

Instead, over the past twenty-five years, the university has established no publishing policy whatsoever, but has allowed its various disciplines to develop independent publishing ventures. There is little cooperation among the major publishers of the university, i.e. ISER, the Department of Extra Mural Studies, the School of Education and the faculties of agriculture and medicine. The duplication of facilities is costly and the advantages to be gained from a combined effort (especially in the areas of distribution and promotion) cannot be minimized. Problems such as that recently faced by the editor of the *West Indian Medical Journal* would be obviated; journals would not fall two or three years behind for lack of editorial expertise. Furthermore, a combined publication effort would be in a position to rationalize its structure and funding within the university in a way that the present faculty operations cannot. It would be able to address itself to the current nemeses of publishing in the West Indies — unsatisfactory copyright arrangements, poor documentation, short press runs, lack of promotion and underrepresentation in bibliographies and indexes — none of which can be tackled with any vigor by the existing divided efforts.

With the exception of the ISER operation, it is fair to say that none of the agencies publishing in the university has sufficiently well-defined policies or programs for publication. This is perhaps most obviously true in the case of the Department of Extra Mural Studies, where each extra-

mural center (in campus and noncampus territories) appears to be free to publish as it wishes. As a result, there is (in one instance at least) unfortunate duplication of effort and no apparent attempt to seize the opportunity to build a systematic collection of materials originating in the territories and pertaining to subjects documented in a hierarchy of established priorities.

At this point, the ambivalent position of territorial governments should be considered. These governments have long agreed on the desirability of a regional publishing venture, but have still made no efforts in this direction. Several possible reasons for this suggest themselves. It may simply be that the excolonial bureaucracies of the Caribbean are content to agree repeatedly on what is good for the region, without taking cognizance of how these advantages are to be realized — a not-impolitic approach to planning in a situation of scarce resources and 5-year electoral cycles. It is also possible that the symbiotic relationship between bureaucrats and multinationals, which Smith describes as "a possible reason for lack of state intervention . . . in many less developed countries"[10] may have at some stage been a retarding factor. A third reason may be the stubborn self-orientation of individual territories. The territories have a poor record of regional cooperation, despite the fact that economists preach regional but not territorial viability. The political Federation of the West Indies failed, and the existing Caribbean Community is visibly floundering. Indeed, the university alone has stood the test of time and territorial differences — hence its unique position as a potential promoter of regional cooperation in curriculum development and textbook production.

There are the constraints of problems internal to the economies of territories as well. Both Guyana and Jamaica are currently in the throes of serious foreign-exchange and trade-balance deficits. It is, of course, possible to argue that the development of a regional industry would reduce foreign exchange expenditure on books, since the imported raw material content, expensive as it is, would nonetheless be cheaper than the finished product. The industry thus should eventually be in a position to earn foreign exchange from book exports.

There is also considerable variance in political philosophies. Indeed, the extent of current curriculum development activity in Guyana and Jamaica, as compared to that in Trinidad, can be traced to the variance in basic political orientation. The Guyanese and Jamaican governments are avowedly socialist; the Trinidadian government, middle-of-the-road.

They consequently hold differing notions of government responsibility with regard to the provision of educational materials.

Finally, the failure of Caribbean Educational Publications may have caused both governments and universities to be wary of any premature second attempt at a regional publishing venture.

Whatever the reasons, and economic considerations apart, the current exploitation of the educational materials market by multinationals is, in educational terms, antidevelopmental and therefore intolerable, and must be replaced by some kind of regional effort. Multinationals are interested primarily in servicing current market needs with salable products. They rarely finance broad-based developmental curriculum programs that involve large groups of teachers in writing and testing materials. Although such approaches are operationally sound from a curriculum development/motivational point of view, they are time-consuming and cannot guarantee a particular kind of manuscript at a particular time.

Some of the multinationals have responded to the cry for cultural relevance by adapting or "Caribbeanizing" materials — in some cases with marginal success. To do this, they consume the energies of professionals from a limited and hard-pressed regional pool who would be better occupied in the broad-based curriculum development activities mentioned above. The multinationals are less interested in regional needs and more so in regional markets. The two are not the same; what sells is not necessarily what is needed, particularly in a region where buyers are often untrained and therefore inexpert in selecting educational texts. Furthermore, the multinationals have evidenced little interest in short press runs, "on demand" publishing, or other innovative approaches that are necessary if regional needs are to be filled at all levels.

It appears that the implementation of the Caribbean examinations syllabi will require textbook development across territories. The multinationals will certainly be in competition for their share of the market. Governments will have to accommodate the demands of the Caribbean Examinations syllabi with programs being developed and implemented in the individual territories as well as decide on the roles of materials developed in support of such programs. Materials developed for use in one territory may well prove suitable for the region. Whether or not this does occur, however, the time is ripe for the establishment of a publishing industry that harnesses existing resources and is predicated on regional needs at all levels.

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Publishing and Book Distribution in Latin America: Some Problems

HERIBERTO SCHIRO
(translation by Nicki Newton)

THERE HAS OBVIOUSLY BEEN spectacular growth in the communications media in recent decades. Equally evident is the fact that the market for books has not experienced an equivalent expansion; in fact, it has suffered a reduction in relative terms. Furthermore, the prophets of doom forecast not only a recession in the demand for books but also the complete disappearance of them.

This is not an attempt — for that would be superfluous — to make a plea in favor of books, or to deliver a polemic concerning their future. This theme has already been dealt with in depth by eminent writers. It does seem, however, that those who appear so pessimistic base their theories on the observations of a few years, in what might be called biographical terms. Humanity, however, does not evolve in the same way as an individual life, but in historical cycles of centuries and even of millenia. Over such periods can be traced the invention of phonetic writing in man's eagerness to overcome the impermanent nature of the spoken word, followed by the invention of printing in the first half of the fifteenth century. Thus, there are five centuries in which the book reigned supreme as the record of humanity and its consciousness, and as a vehicle for the dissemination of ideas. Most of the ideas that have formed the basis of our civilization have been spread through the vehicle of books, including the great concepts of life, such as justice, liberty, understanding, and the ability to use natural resources to advantage.

In this, as in many other cases, familiarity breeds contempt; yet it is truly exciting that the marvel of the written word reproduced in print

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makes possible discourse with the great masters of universal philosophy, reviving the dialogues of Plato at the Academy, and participating in Aristotle's lectures. It is not a source of wonder that, for a modest price, the great works of the world's literature from the Orient to the present day are easily available? What would modern libraries have become had a few medieval monks not applied themselves painstakingly to copying the words produced by the Greek era, until the advent of the printing press? The world would be culturally impoverished today without the bibliographic explosion which followed the invention of printing, which has been reinforced by the latest technological advances in composing and printing. Therefore, it is impossible to imagine dispensing with a medium that is economical, versatile and effective in the dissemination of abstract ideas, science and culture, as well as being the main support of education. If it is certain that other media require large investments and considerable capital, it is no less certain that quality books can be produced in quantity with less — and will therefore remain the most accessible medium for developing countries.

Hasty conclusions should not be drawn regarding the future of the book; yet it is currently indispensable. World production has already reached approximately 500,000 titles per year, with about 5 billion copies. Between 1950 and 1970, production has doubled.

THE ROLE OF LATIN AMERICA

In the context of such figures, the part played by Latin America is rather modest. Book production has not reached levels commensurate with other signs of economic, political and cultural development. Publication has reached about 23,000 titles per year with a total of some 350 million copies. Moreover, production is concentrated for the most part in three countries: Brazil, Mexico and Argentina. Brazil's production exceeds 8000 titles, while the others launch about 4000 each annually. Book production and demand provide a reliable indication of a country's degree of development, and, although economists rarely do so, paper consumption rates should be compared to figures showing the consumption of energy, cement, or steel.

The printing industry is the substructure of publishing. It keeps pace with the development of a country's manufacturing sector as a whole. There are countries in Latin America with well-developed industrial sectors, comparable to those in Europe and the United States. There are also countries with a growing output, as well as a third, clearly deficient group whose output is just beginning and whose demands are

simply satisfied through importation. This is worsened by the fact that these last are the countries with the lowest per capita income and the highest percentage of illiteracy. At the same time, they suffer chronic balance-of-payment problems. A skilled labor force could only arise from the literate sector of the population, who are also the main book buyers and usually those with a higher income.

Such observations make an overall analysis of the area very difficult, for it would presuppose a homogeneity which does not exist. Ignoring the varying differences and inequalities that pertain in Latin America is a mistake frequently made by international organizations and the industrialized nations, as well as academies and universities. Those who presume to make certain observations from within should take note of such oversimplification but give adequate value to generalizations. The various indices, averages and abstractions are a legitimate way of approximating. It is important, however, to interpret the results correctly. With this in mind, it becomes possible to analyze the human, technical and economic resources involved in publishing in order to determine degrees of development as well as to account for underdevelopment.

HUMAN, TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Authors are the primary human resource in the publishing field. The number of authors in Latin America who have attained world fame are few compared to those in the advanced countries. An author is not an exotic flower that blooms by chance, but is rather more a product of the cultural ecology of a country, i.e. its education and development. Access and opportunity are necessary in order for a person's spiritual creativity to take the form of writing a book. Furthermore, the remuneration for such intellectual work is, on the whole, inadequate to permit an author to devote himself exclusively to writing; thus, authors have to undertake other work. This situation is aggravated by deficiencies in copyright legislation. The Latin American countries which can rely on modern and efficient laws are relatively few — and these are, not surprisingly, the ones with the most advanced publishing industries. Others, by contrast, have obsolete and inefficient rules. Instruments to define the phenomenon of intellectual creativity and standardize the possible offenses — the only way to establish effective sanctions against infringements — are lacking. There is a clear relationship between the legal apparatus and the evolution of judicial doctrine. Consequently, many countries have not complied with the international conventions on copyright which guarantee a work the same protection in other countries as that

accorded in the originating country. This encourages pirating and also renders useless any attempts at regional collaboration.

Copublication, one of the most effective formulas for minimizing risk, completely lacks any judicial instructions defining its nature, extent and how it can be effected. The backwardness of the law is once again encountered in the face of advances in technology and marketing, to the point where copublication becomes impossible. Customs legislation does not expressly permit the free trade of the different stages of a coedition between countries, which is essential to economic copublication.

Discussion of human resources should also note the lack of specialized editorial personnel, the scant managerial expertise, the inability of schools and colleges to foster the habit of reading, and the low standards of schoolteachers and librarians.

The standard of technical resources and graphic equipment varies and is related to the degree of industrialization experienced by the respective country. This also concerns human resources, because the technology involved demands an increasingly skilled work force as it becomes more sophisticated — not only because of the difficulty of operating and maintaining the machinery, but also because of the complexity of profit and loss preparation on equipment requiring larger investments. Furthermore, purchase of machinery has been undertaken without prior planning, or any concept of regional complementarity. In fact, some countries can be said to be overequipped with a high unused capacity, while others are seriously underequipped and frequently unaware of modern production techniques. The recent world shortage of paper — which represents 30-40 percent of the direct raw material cost of a book — has added a further problem to the process of production and supply. In the long run, however, it is possible that the crisis has had the positive result of allowing local industries, which in general have higher costs, to spring up due to the overall astronomical rise in prices. In any case, the price of books will continue to increase.

Economic resources, such as the ability to raise capital and the availability of credit, present difficulties which should not be underrated. Clearly, capital is scarce and tends to be attracted to the most profitable investments. Even today, contrary to what some observers may claim, publishing does not tend to be a very lucrative business. In the instance of a bestseller, there is a rapid return on capital yielding good dividends, but these cases are the exception, and overall, these publications must help finance the slow-moving titles, as well as the failures. This is well known by bankers, who consider publishing to be an extremely risky

business — an adventure which leads them to close their doors to requests for any kind of financing. In some countries, however, this tendency has diminished, and it has been shown that risk can be minimized by good administration and prudence. For example, the Spanish publishing industry has achieved financial security by reducing the element of risk that accompanies every publication to a statistically reasonable level. Nevertheless, in Latin America this process is very slow, and publishers operating on a normal system of credit can be considered the exception — and frequently owe it to the fact that their publishing activities are underwritten by involvement in other sectors of the economy.

There does not exist in Latin America a proper fiscal and legal policy on publishing reflected in favorable legislation, which is both capable of dealing with the whole process (from author through retail bookseller) and affords some relief to the publishing business through exemption from normal rules relating to other products. Currently, only Argentina and Colombia have passed standardized systems of laws which cover the whole range of publishing activities, from writing and production to marketing and international distribution. They allow for tax concessions on investment and an adequate system of credit. Brazil has provided extremely generous methods of financing, and Mexico has recently implemented rules favorable to publishing, although some of the points relating to free trade excited fierce internal controversy. Chile, Peru and Uruguay each have prospective legislation in advanced stages of development. It can thus be seen that the situation is changing, but not at the rate desired. The unreadiness of financial concerns to give credit remains an obstacle even in the countries where such laws have been passed, for while these laws may establish general principles, they obviously cannot force firms to give credit against their will.

A RESTRICTED MARKET

It is important to remember that publishing, like every other sector of industry, will always be governed by its market. Unfortunately, the home market, given the geographical division of the area, does not always allow for economies of scale. This results in short press runs, with a consequent increase in unit costs and therefore in prices. One of the operative factors in any market is the price of the product — this applies to the book market as well.

The market is limited by certain basic conditions: the level of literacy, the incidence of the reading habit, the interest that the work may evoke in the potential reader, and — above all — the per capita income

of the population. One cannot expect a high demand for books from a huge section of the population whose income barely covers the basic necessities of food, clothing and health; books naturally become a luxury item. Apart from such objective considerations, a publishing house must have the managerial ability to direct progress and to determine the elasticity of the market. Aside from general education and knowledge of the techniques of production, the editor must also have intuition and, in some measure, be able to foresee the future, since, as Perez Gonzalez says, the editor must know the reader's taste before the reader knows it himself. It is to some extent now possible for the editor to study the market statistics of potential readers as a guide to assist in both selecting titles and planning publicity. For example, figures showing the number of literates, students and professionals and statistics on income levels and consumer trends could be used. Unfortunately, this sort of aid is seldom used and furthermore is regarded with a certain amount of suspicion — so that the traditional editor continues to trust solely in intuition.

In any case, the production process, despite the restrictions pointed out, is not what poses the most problems. Even though books require a physical form involving raw materials, layout, composition, printing and binding, all of these have fairly straightforward, modern techniques. From the management point of view, the production stage requires a predictable and relatively secure investment which can be accurately assessed. The difficult stage, which demands special promotional activities in order to publicize the book and capture the interest of the reader, is marketing. No one can accurately predict the market's response, but this does not excuse the editor from taking all possible steps to make the effort a success.

At this point, a disturbing paradox appears: a book is not a book until it is in the hands of the reader — until it is being read. It is with good reason, therefore, that experts believe the weakness of the publishing industry to lie in distribution rather than production. Furthermore, the statistics, if studied superficially, lead to ambiguity. In fact, they represent the number of books produced, not sold. The two are often confused.

There are various objective factors which conspire against an easy distribution process, e.g., the sheer geographic extent of the Latin American countries and the slow, expensive and inadequate transportation and postal systems (the prohibitive cost of air freight is at times more than the cost of the books themselves). Another factor is the scarcity of libraries. Those that do exist are often concentrated in the large urban

centers. The rural areas are short of both libraries and communications, and have a low population density, which means minimal sales potential. A poor public and academic library service is a serious drawback in countries where the library should be increasing its activities by making books available to those with fewer resources. Unfortunately, libraries cannot depend on having the resources to buy books in sufficient quantity to have any impact on the publishers' stocks.

In referring to distribution as a key stage, there is no distinction between local publications and imported books. The role that the latter plays in satisfying demand depends on the strength of local production and its share of the market. However, once brought into the country, imported books share the same fate as those published locally; moreover, procedures covering importation cause further difficulty. Studies undertaken at the Regional Center for the Promotion of Books in Latin America — albeit incomplete (they cover only eleven countries) — have resulted in identification of various obstacles to free trade. The most significant of these are advance deposits, exchange controls, fixed terms of payment, specification constraints, sales tax, consular measures, compulsory storage in national warehouses, import quotas, and advance censorship rules. This list of obstacles demonstrates that the apparent generosity of general rules and international objectives is, in practice, nullified by a labyrinth of regulations, which are not even covered in regional agreements, and which each government maintains in its own way.

An additional burden is the chronic inflation from which nearly all Latin American countries are suffering. This results in frequent variations in the rate of exchange, for both imports and exports. Thus, cases of under- or over-valuation occur which sometimes disrupt the market with capricious price fluctuations. This is what has been happening in Chile and Argentina in recent years.

BARRIERS TO COOPERATION

All data cited above are the product of studies undertaken at the instigation of the different sectors involved in book production, under the auspices of the Latin America Free Trade Association (ALALC). At the meetings which took place in Montevideo in 1973 and 1974, recommendations were made which were intended to eliminate all obstacles to free trade and to establish a common market for books. However, the project failed to win approval in the association's general assembly.

In 1976, at an Intergovernmental Conference on the Politics of

Communication in Latin America and the Caribbean, a resolution was approved whereby all the parties represented recommended to Unesco and the Regional Center for the Promotion of Books in Latin America that an agreement be drawn up creating a common market for books and that an intergovernmental conference be convened to this end. These steps are certainly important ones toward a goal which must eventually be reached, but agreement will not be easy, because it needs to cover economic, financial, exchange and customs considerations. Different positions are held by each country on questions of national policy, such as the economic situation, the rate of inflation, balance of payment, and transportation.

Unfortunately, it is in those countries where local industry is least advanced and supply is poorest that the greatest obstacles to cooperation are often found. Although this fact is partly explained by their chronic balance-of-payment problems, it is worth remembering that book imports average scarcely 1 percent of total imports, so their impact is minimal and amply compensated by the resultant fostering of the reading habit and expansion of the book market, making way for the country's own publishing industry. Imported books provide the only way for most Latin American countries, which are virtually without their own publishing industries, to satisfy reading needs. Nevertheless, the desire of these less-developed nations to rely on their own publishing industries is legitimate. This cannot be achieved by prohibiting imports, however, for in this way they are depriving themselves of thousands of titles which cannot be published locally, since publication laws of their originating country restrict publication.

THE WAY FORWARD

This outlook on the publishing industry in Latin America, which may seem somewhat discouraging, presents a challenge to the inventiveness of authors, to the imagination of editors and to the goodwill of governments. The problems of book publishing must be seen in the wider context of a country's cultural, political, economic and social problems. Frequently, the solution of those problems is concerned only partially with books. It is important to remember that underdevelopment extends far beyond the field of pure economics, embracing the entire life of countries. It is certain, however, that the book is one of the most appropriate tools for promoting harmonious and equitable development as well as accelerating the necessary process of development. The sooner governments recognize the importance of the role books have played

in the field of theoretical and applied learning, in the democratization of culture, and in the development of economic and social improvements, the sooner they will be disposed toward a favorable policy, resulting in inestimable benefits for the whole of the country as well as the region.

It is for this reason that optimism must prevail over the future of the book in Latin America in spite of the sudden rapid expansion of other media and the recent paper shortage. The statistics in recent years confirm that world production continues to increase. In an area with insufficient production, once certain obstacles restricting growth have been removed, expansion will certainly have to become more rapid than the world rate. This outcome is further assured by the growth of education and the massive literacy campaigns that are being undertaken. All of this points to the prediction that the "thirst for books" in Latin America will grow in the next few years.

Finally, a growth in per capita income is also beginning to show, if only slowly. This will allow for a higher spending capacity on educational and cultural consumption. In passing, it may be noted that in countries like France, this consumption is growing at a rate of 7.4 percent compared to 4.8 percent on personal expenditure and 2.6 percent on food consumption. There are other factors which encourage optimism about the immediate future for the book in Latin America. Therefore, it is now appropriate to call upon governments to set in motion genuine policies to encourage publishing, upon authors to engage their minds in the creation of new works, and finally upon editors and booksellers to meet the challenge with intelligence and courage. As Unesco's slogan read, when it designated 1972 as International Book Year: "Books for all."

ACRONYMS

AID — Agency for International Development
ALALC — Latin America Free Trade Association
ARAC — Arab Research and Administration Center
ARASCO — Arab Organization for Education, Science and Culture
BBC — British Broadcasting Corporation
CADEC — Christian Action for Development in the Eastern Caribbean
CAEU — Council of Arab Economic Unity
CARICOM — Caribbean Community
CARUP — Caribbean Universities Press
CBS — Columbia Broadcasting System
CEP — Caribbean Educational Publications
CPE — Certificate of Primary Education
CUSO — Canadian University Service Overseas
EAPH — East African Publishing House
FIAT — Fabbrico Italiana Automobile, Torino
GEBO — General Egyptian Book Organization
ICTA — Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture
IDCAS — Industrial Development Center for Arab States
ISER — Institute of Social and Economic Research
ITT — International Telephone and Telegraph
NBC — National Broadcasting Corporation
NEISA — Nueva Editorial Interamericana Sociedad Anónima
ORTF — Organisation Radio et Télévision Françaises
OUP — Oxford University Press
PL — Public Law
RCA — Radio Corporation of America
SSR — Soviet Socialist Republic
UCC — Universal Copyright Convention
UK — United Kingdom
USIA — United States Information Agency
USSR — Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UWI — University of the West Indies
VNU — Verinigde Nederlandse Uitgeversbedrijven

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Prepared by: Mary Kelly Black

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† Also available in clothbound edition.

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Forthcoming numbers are as follows:

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Fall 1978, *State Library Development Agencies.* Editor: John A. McCrossan, Associate Professor, Department of Library Studies, University of South Florida, Tampa.

Winter 1979, *Libraries and Society: Past, Present and Prospective Research and Thought.* Editors: Phyllis Dain, Professor, and Margaret Stieg, Professor, School of Library Service, Columbia University, New York.

Spring 1979, *The Study and Collecting of Historical Children's Books in the United States.* Editor: Selma K. Richardson, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Library Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.